



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Congo

President Meets Malabo Minister, WFTU Chief

AB1908172190 Brazzaville Domestic Service in French
1830 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] This afternoon, General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the president of the republic, granted two audiences. He first received Equatorial Guinean Foreign Minister [title as heard] Santiago Eneme [Ovono], who delivered a message from Equatorial Guinean President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. President Denis Sassou-Nguesso and his interlocutor discussed issues of bilateral cooperation and, above all, the financial difficulties of the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa [UDEAC] headquarters in Bangui, the Central African Republic. The Equatorial Guinean foreign minister made further explanations to Yves-Roger Beka:

[Begin recording] [Eneme Ovono] The content of the message is the reinforcement of the excellent relations of cooperation and friendship between our two peoples.

[Beka] Apart from relations between Congo and Equatorial Guinea, did you deliver a particular message concerning the development of the political situation in Congo and Equatorial Guinea?

[Eneme Ovono] Yes, we discussed some points on the situation. You know that both of our countries are from the subregion. The main point for our discussions was on the UDEAC because the Congolese president is the current UDEAC chairman. I informed him about our current concern regarding our organization and he gave me his point of view.

[Beka] If I am not being too indiscrete, could I know what this concern is that Equatorial Guinea has expressed to the UDEAC chairman?

[Eneme Ovono] It is about the difficulties currently confronting our headquarters in Bangui due to the member countries' inability to pay their contributions. [end recording]

President Denis Sassou-Nguesso received the secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU], Ibrahim Zakaria, who briefed the president of the Republic on the proceedings of the WFTU meeting recently held in Brazzaville. It may be recalled that this meeting was aimed at preparing the next WFTU congress scheduled to take place in Moscow, the Soviet Union. Ibrahim Zakaria also answered Yves-Roger Beka's question on the topic for their discussions:

[Begin recording] [Zakaria] Well, in fact, I was delegated by the WFTU member organizations who held their meeting here in Brazzaville. They delegated me to brief the president on the decisions made at this meeting. I thanked the president for his warm reception here in Brazzaville and briefed him on all that happened at the meeting. He was very impressed by the outcome of our meeting.

[Ebeka] In a few words, what were the main decisions at the Brazzaville meeting?

[Zakaria] We discussed preparations for the 12th WFTU congress and the future structure and activities of the WFTU. We also discussed the topic of the personnel who will form the WFTU technical and administrative staff and the leaders of the WFTU at the continental level, that is to say, in Africa.

[Ebeka] Mr. Secretary General, the political world is bustling everywhere, in Africa and the world. Is the trade union world also moving accordingly? In other words, what is the current strategy adopted by world trade unions in response to the changes on the world political scene?

[Zakaria] That is the sense of our next congress, because we have to analyze all these situations throughout the world and succeed in adjusting our structure to the development of events. We have really appreciated the president's counsel because we have to take them into account for our future battles. [end recording]

Station Commentary Views Clemency Decision

AB1908073190 Brazzaville Domestic Service in French
1830 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Denis Sassou-Nguesso has remained faithful to the commitments he made during his first swearing-in ceremony on 14 August 1979. So, on 14 August 1990, like he did 11 years ago, the president of the Republic granted clemency for the crimes and offenses committed by some compatriots. At that time, those measures were in conformity with the aspirations of 5 February 1979 relating to the return to democratic life in a peaceful atmosphere of tranquility, because peace and tranquility are conditions without which any task of national construction is doomed to fail. It is a fact that peace and tranquility are two conditions which every nation ardently desires and wishes to last as long as possible. Individually, each citizen also finds in these conditions an opportunity to develop his creativity. What is generally noticed, by looking at the current tragic happenings on our planet, is that wherever violence and anarchy have taken the place of peace and tranquility, development is a forgotten issue and the society begins to fall apart. Now, if we are to talk about the case of Congo, one must notice that the few tragic events our country went through during more than 30 years—events whose causes and consequences we do not intend here to delve into—corroborate our belief on the benefits of peace and tranquility instead of violence and division.

The recent clemency granted by Denis Sassou-Nguesso, one can say, has set things right in our country, at a time when some tongues have opted for concepts that harmonize. Such is the case of democracy that goes along with development. But the democratic concept could sound off key in the face of the words: political detainees. This false note is now a thing of the past and the concert

of democracy can now bring together at all public places, in the administration, shortly, in the towns and all the villages of Congo all our compatriots for a frank and objective debate. In this debate, compatriots will no longer be described as reactionary or an enemy because his ideas are contrary to those of others.

By this undeniably historical gesture, the president of the Republic has just given another opportunity to all Congolese to better undertake their task as builders of Congo today and tomorrow. This gesture is like a helping hand and one of the decisions, if not a major decision, that will enable the Congolese people to fully adopt democracy in peace, tranquility, and national concord.

Those who were yesterday called political detainees have been freed as of 14 August and each is now living with his family. The release of these political detainees is a political and social measure.

Once again, Denis Sassou-Nguesso has just shown the world and the Congolese nation that he is a humanist and a philanthropist. He is a humanist in the sense that he has the absolute quality, which gives man all his faculties, all the meaning of his presence in the world, all his behavior as social actor and spectator. Man is a social being in need of permanent, continued, and ceaseless education. Denis Sassou-Nguesso has always said this when it is a question of correcting, molding, and answering some antisocial behavior in our country.

The head of state is a philanthropist because he is the one who has considered, will consider, and considers man as a necessary and important social being for building the Congolese nation. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, as we have already said, has demonstrated in his speech, his country's revolution, and three decades of independence that the death penalty is barbaric and has no place in Congo.

As he has always done and will continue to do, Denis Sassou-Nguesso has taken the wind out of the sails of the so-called sociologists and ethnologists who have been writing volumes on the nonobservance of human rights in Congo. All of a sudden, the man of 5 February, the man of concrete actions has made a surprising decision. He has decided to empty all Congolese prisons of not only political detainees but also common law prisoners. By this patriotic superclemency, General Sassou-Nguesso has made it possible for the various families not only to celebrate the occasion two-fold, or rather three-fold, but also to call our attention to respect for ourselves and others and the consideration of the usefulness of man in the society.

If, 30 years ago, each Congolese responded to social behavior in his own way, Sassou-Nguesso, on his part, forgives the past of its imperfections and proposes, in a humane way, peace and freedom through cohesion, coherence, harmony, and concord. That is the meaning of keeping abreast of world events. That is the meaning of listening to others. This is the way to build a nation through understanding and concrete actions. Once again, Gen. Denis Sassou-Nguesso has forestalled the theses of

jurists, ethnologists, and sociologists with hasty conclusions. Like the Romans, we are tempted to say today: Ecce homo Sassou-Nguesso. In other words: Behold the man Sassou-Nguesso, always for the cause of his fatherland and compatriots. Smiles have brightened all our homes since 14 August 1990.

Gabon

Prime Minister Oye-Mba Lifts State of Siege

AB1808162790 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] In Gabon, what attracts attention now is the electoral campaign scheduled to be launched tomorrow. Yesterday evening, the Gabonese prime minister, Casimir Oye-Mba, addressed his countrymen. He reviewed issues of peace, national unity, and respect of public order.

On this occasion, Casimir Oye-Mba announced the lifting of the state of siege that has reigned in Ogooue-Maritime Province. Another important measure announced by the Gabonese prime minister was the financing of political associations during their electoral campaign. It will be recalled that each political association will receive 20 million CFA francs from the government. Obviously, with these measures, the concern of President Omar Bongo is to make it possible for the electoral campaign to take place in a calm atmosphere. Jean-Valere Mbinamanza reports:

[Mbinamanza] The Gabonese president, in his capacity as guarantor of national institutions and national unity, it is true, has the special duty of ensuring the stability of the political climate. The country really needs this, notably in order to ensure that the electoral campaign, which should serve as the yardstick for our nascent democracy, is not soiled by any kind of social agitation, as was the case during the riots which broke out in Libreville and Port Gentil following the death of the secretary general of the Gabonese Progress Party, Joseph Rendjembe.

As you said, Omar Bongo, whose desire henceforth is to put himself above all parties, has therefore decided to allocate an amount of 20 million CFA francs to each of the 74 political associations that took part in the national conference, which is a large expenditure: 1.48 billion CFA. He is thus complying with a pledge made by the government, which took note of the remarks made by all these associations when they pointed out after the national conference that their recent formation as well as the short [words indistinct] preparing for the elections will not allow them to financially meet the exigencies of the electoral campaign.

But more importantly and obviously, the lifting of the state of siege in the Ogooue-Maritime Province, imposed on 28 May, is a measure that is perfectly in line with the spirit of the constitution. Here too, President Bongo has displayed his desire not to retreat from the democratic path desired by

the Gabonese people. The scope of both of these two measures should contribute to the participation of all in making the festivities for the country's 30th anniversary of independence, which will be commemorated by Gabon in two days time, run smoothly.

Bongo Speaks of 'New Democracy' on Anniversary

*AB2008214190 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 17 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is within a multiparty context that Gabon celebrates the 30th anniversary of its independence. In his message to the nation yesterday evening, Gabonese President Omar Bongo stressed that the new democracy in Gabon was, first and foremost, the product of the common willingness of Gabonese themselves.

[Begin Bongo recording] Any well-informed observer of the life of Gabonese institutions will easily notice that this option which, most fortunately, is in keeping with

the current evolution of the international system, is nonetheless and essentially the outcome of a dynamics specific to our society. Democracy did not drop on us like a bolt out of the blue, as if by magic. It is the fruit of the efforts of all for greater social justice and freedoms.

Today, the option for political pluralism is an accomplished fact. At this moment, which only history will place on record, we have, thus, set in motion the establishment of new institutions whose multiparty contribution and the present government of openness are no more than visible cornerstones of the magnificent edifice of the new Gabon. We may, therefore, note with delight the work done and, once more, be proud to pay sincere tribute not only to the Gabonese Democratic Party, which managed to withstand a painful mutation, but also to all the political associations and to all the men of goodwill who contributed to reshape the face of the Gabonese nation. [end recording]

Kenya

Clerics Criticize Corruption at Bishop's Funeral

EA2008204490 Nairobi KNA in English 1800 GMT
20 Aug 90

[Text] Nairobi, 20 August—The provost of Saint Stephen's, Kisumu, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry Okullu, today delivered an emotional service for the late Bishop Alexander Muge at the All Saints' Cathedral where thousands of mourners had jammed to say their last prayers to the late bishop, Dr. Okullu [as received]. He reminded the mourners that the late bishop's blood was shed to fertilise the lord's message of peace, justice and integrity of creation, adding that the blood of a saint like Bishop Muge's was the seed of the church.

Dr. Okullu scoffed at politicians who threaten the clergy, adding that we are not only surrounded by loose-tongued leaders but leaders who talk from deep in their hearts, adding that these (?are) the leaders who found their way to Parliament through massive rigging.

He urged mourners to continue searching for justice for which the late bishop was killed, noting that a wise leader will always call for dialogue.

The youth, the prelate said, would continue fighting the good fight in the struggle against injustice, corruption, political thuggeries and dictatorship, noting that church persecution strengthens the church.

The Rev. David Gitari of Kirinyaga condemned injustices, violation of human rights, rigging and disservice to mankind. He appealed to Christians and Kenyans to remain calm and continue fighting the ills of the society, adding that Okondo's loose tongue should serve as a warning to the loose-tongued politicians.

The Rev. John Kago of the CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya], after reading messages of condolence from churches worldwide, said that the death of Bishop Muge was not just a passing cloud, but a seed of a martyr who will be remembered for his tireless efforts in service to the lord and his people, a courageous and development-minded man whose shoes nobody will fit.

Bishop Njenga of the Catholic Church, Mombasa, said his church mourned the death of the bishop. Various representative for world churches read letters of condolences.

Prior to the church mass, thousands of mourners had lined up at the Lee funeral mortuary to view the body of the late bishop. Viewing began at about 1130. Some mourners who could not contain their grief burst out crying.

Present at the church service were Ministers Paul Ngei, Mwai Kibaki, Dalmas Otieno, former Minister Waruru Kanja, former Speaker Samuel Ngeny, the Executive Chairman [of] Kenya National Assurance Mr. Henry Kosgey, and Nandi KANU [Kenya African National Union] chairman Mark Too among others.

Tanzania

Chairman Julius Nyerere Addresses CCM Congress

EA1808193590 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service
in Swahili 0807 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Speech by Cham Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Chairman Julius Nyerere speech opening the CCM Congress at Diamond Jubilee Hall in Dar es Salaam—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] CCM forever! [voices: "for ever"] Comrade President and Comrade representatives, we have gathered in this Congress for one great task in particular: to select one among us who will be endorsed by the party to be elected for the post of president of the Union Republic. The representatives will also take the opportunity to make a few adjustments to the party constitution, to elect a new chairman, and to perform any other election which may ensue as a result of that act.

About the person to contest for the presidential post: The Congress will recommend Ali Hassan Mwinyi for a second term. [applause] We had no misgivings at all in making this decision. President Mwinyi has done a great task for our people and our nation during a period of many problems. Those problems, especially the economic ones, are not yet finished. Debates on how to confront them are still in progress and should continue. So are the steps towards solving them, for in times of problems, inactivity is a conscious decision and, in a situation like ours, inactivity is a fateful decision.

The great constitutional change recommended to the representatives is the reintroduction of two caps [the CCM chairman simultaneously serving as the president of the Republic]. According to our former norms—namely, amalgamating party responsibilities with those of the government at certain levels of leadership.

The main reason for the recommendation is to solidify the leadership at the respective ranks as well as to minimize the costs of administration. All this will be explained later.

Third, we have agreed in the Central Committee and in the National Central Committee that the time has come for me to relinquish the post of CCM chairman. This is one of the leadership posts that, from the beginning, we felt should be held by the same person as the post of president of the Union Republic. The main reason which made us separate these ranks for some time was the fears and uncertainties of the transitional period. The leadership's transition from the first phase to the second has been completed in a complete tranquility. We have no reason at all to continue separating these posts. It is appropriate now that we should return to our first and basic decree: that the CCM chairman should also be the president of the United Republic of Tanzania. We very much thank our colleague, Comrade Ali Hassan Mwinyi, that his visionary leadership during the past five years has led us to this step. Comrade President, thank you very much. [applause]

Comrade representatives, the current election of the president of the Union Republic and that of Zanzibar, as well as of the MP's and the members of the Council of Representatives, will be conducted according to our present constitution of a single party. We are not intending to alter this procedure at the moment. However, debates on the system which will lead Tanzania in the future have begun. It is my hope that these will continue. Laws are formulated to oversee deeds. In our country at present it is illegal to form another political party. We all have to abide by that law until it is transmuted. However, this country is trying to be a democratic one-party country.

Whereas a person airing his views on changes either to the existing laws or to the constitution, while abiding by the laws in force, should be allowed in any system called a democratic system. Indeed, one description of true democracy is that it gives the few a legal opportunity to try to persuade the majority to accept the superiority of their opinion. This is the only way to introduce new ideas and values in the society in a peaceful and tranquil manner. What democracy is it that prevents people from questioning its Constitution or any other law of the land? When democracy takes the form of dictatorship, what form will the dictatorship take?

This issue is not within the agenda of our Congress. We have not yet fully understood the weight of the consequences of the changes, and the debate itself has not yet reached the stage of making a decision or even setting the date for a decision. My personal opinion is that it is not good for a big issue like this to be decided in a hurry. It is a good thing to give ourselves enough time to understand the meaning of any decision we may make. Should we decide to continue with a one-party system, then we should have had understood our reasons for doing so. Likewise, should we decide to establish a multi-party system. Therefore, it is our responsibility keenly to weigh the pros and cons of all arguments advanced by both sides of the debate. That is why the debate should be given enough time and should be conducted appropriately.

After saying that, I should underscore the following. First, the fundamental thing for our country's development is to promote democracy itself and not the system which governs it.

Second, when this issue is brought before the party Congress for resolution, the arguments which lead to the resolution should be compatible with the conditions and needs of contemporary Tanzania. [passage omitted]

Comrade representatives, it is possible that there are still good reasons existing today for the continuation of a one-party system. It is better that the reasons be debated and understood. It will not be enough to repeat the arguments of the immediate post-independence era. For instance, at that time the law permitted the formation of many parties, but we had no meaningful parties. Now the law does not permit the establishment of another political party. I personally do not believe, however, that

when the law permits the establishment of another party, we will get no meaningful parties. I believe that now there is a possibility of having a party or parties which are good or fairly good. If we are convinced, however, that there are adequate reasons to continue with a one-party system, we should continue with the one-party system [applause], without feeling shame or offering anybody an apology.

The measure of the shoe is the foot of the one who wears it. But if we decide to have a multiparty system, it is also necessary that the reasons for it should emerge from the real situation and needs of today's Tanzania. It would be neither wise nor respectable to abandon our own system, which we are accustomed to, and implement a system which we are not accustomed to, for the sole reason of imitating winds blowing from outside of our country [applause], or for the sole reason of wanting to please the imperialists and capitalists so that they give us aid. [applause]

I have said earlier that personally I believe that if we decide to continue with a one-party system of democracy, the decision will never be a lasting one. One day Tanzanians will decide to have a multiparty system. I said that in my opinion, however, it is not permissible that we decide to abandon the one-party system of democracy and try the multiparty system of democracy in the hope that if we find that system unsuitable for us, we can shift back to the one-party system of democracy. We will be deceiving ourselves. It is not possible, or it is very difficult. When you divorce your wife and marry another one and then discover that the second one is a disaster [laughter]—you have understood me before I finished however, I shall finish [laughter]—I say, when you divorce your wife and marry another one and then discover that the second is a disaster, it is difficult to return to your first wife. If we try multiparty democracy and then fail, the likeliest system to ensue thereafter will be a one-man dictatorship or military rule. That is another important reason for not making a hasty decision. It is appropriate that we give ourselves enough time to understand the effects which could ensue as a consequence of any decision we may take.

It is not good to jump without knowing where you will land. Until now in this debate, the fear being expressed is the danger which might befall our unity if we adopt a multiparty system. This is an argument we should not overlook. The unity of our people is our greatest power. The danger of division which might emerge on religious or tribal lines should be avoided; whenever the multiparty system takes hold, maximum attention should be paid to these dangers with a view to avoiding them and, if possible, to defend ourselves against them.

As for now, the most glaring danger which has so far emerged is the class division, the us and the them, economically and socially. In the efforts to enhance efficiency and work morale, if you allow the people to amass wealth as much as they can while not violating the laws, disparity in income and ultimately in social position will increase.

That situation will emerge even if big corporations and basic services are under the public sector.

The disparity between the rich and the poor has begun to intensify in Tanzania. We have to maintain vigilance. We have to continue to implement the laws of the land and various government plans so as to see that these differences do not reach the proportions of endangering unity and peace in the country. Most particularly, we have to continue to ensure that the basic needs of all people are available and are safeguarded. Our goal should continue to be uplifting the life of everybody, that everybody should have access to the basic services of education and health. If some people live in luxury but the majority do not have access even to their basic needs, we cannot maintain peace and tranquility in the country. It is very important to the party and the governments to seriously take this issue into consideration.

Comrade members, I am resigning. I take off my cap as a chairman of our party. I still believe, however, that without a strong CCM, our country will swirl. We have no other leader. I would like that party, the CCM, to continue to be a mass organization, especially among the poor. [applause] I would like our party to continue to assume leadership with a mandate from the masses of the people, even if in the future the democratic course does change and take on a multiparty nature. [passage omitted]

For all that, a party remains a party; it is not a government. A party should not act as a government. Party tasks are different from those of a government. This difference is very important for the life and success of both the party and its government. This matter is important. However, it is very difficult to maintain the difference, particularly in a one-party system. The meaning of the party in assuming a leading role could be altered, the party becoming the de facto government. A political party must be depend on itself, financially and in other matters. [passage omitted]

In a one-party state it is very important that the party represents all the people, because in such a country the party is the only link between the people and the government. It must be formed in such a manner that the needs, aspirations, and expectations of the people always come to the attention of the government. Likewise, it should also inform the people about the success, hardships, recommendations, and the resolutions of the government. Now, by those criteria, where does the CCM stand? The CCM is a peasants' and workers' party. Its foundations are very clear on its principles and objectives, and the government's tasks and its conduct. These foundations are clearly set out in the Arusha Declaration and in the party constitution. Our party has resolved to follow the principle of equality and human dignity and, accordingly, the CCM is a socialist party. Therefore, it upholds democratic principles.

Its main objectives are safeguarding our country's freedom and dignity, maintaining the unity of our country, and seeking equitable development for all the

people and the whole nation. The CCM has already chosen suitable programs, plans, and conduct for the promotion of those bases and objectives. It strives to supervise and enhance the economy by democratic means so as to bring about equitable development in our country. [passage omitted]

CCM membership is voluntary and the party has succeeded in avoiding making possession of a CCM membership card a condition for acquiring employment or other public services. It is obvious that our party's leadership should be restricted to its members. We cannot leave it to anybody. What could be pointed out to us as an error is that sometimes we choose unworthy leaders. It is, however, difficult in any democratic set-up to prevent a legally qualified candidate from being elected by the voters.

Likewise, we require the members of the security forces to be CCM members. I believe this decision was a correct one when we established the Tanzania People's Defense Force in 1964 when the Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Parties, were in reality one party, each overseeing its part of the union, although there was not a constitutional decree for that. It is good that I announce this decision. Each country's norms emerge from its history. The colonialists, according to their norms, advised us that it was unwise for the Army to be involved in politics. We rejected their advice. It is true that the Army is not a political party. However, the Army of any country, if it is a real patriotic Army and not a mercenary one, ought to accept the country's Constitution and its basic objectives.

If the country has a multiparty system the Army ought to accept that system and safeguard it. Likewise, if the country has a one-party system the Army should also accept that system and safeguard it. The one-party system, as I have already said, was a result of the then existing situation and our history. After the [1964] Army mutiny we inherited, and after the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, we were forced to establish a new army in line with our existing situation and the history of our country. Therefore, we were forced to recruit patriotic youth who agreed with our parties' objectives. This decision was in place. We categorically rejected the idea of making our Army one of political illiterates or mere observers of our country's politics.

Therefore, our Army is an army of CCM members. It has been adequately trained in politics. It has very high political awareness and fully participates in all political matters. We have 26 regions; one of them is an army region and is present here. Our Army agrees with our country's Constitution and the main objectives of our country (are born) out in the Arusha Declaration. As these objectives have substantial benefits for the entire nation, and not for CCM members alone, I expect the Tanzania People's Defense Force to continue to safeguard the interests of Tanzanians. [applause] Our Army should continue to be a patriotic and a political army. It cannot be a mercenary army. The benefits of our Army

being a patriotic and political army have been seen clearly. I have said before, and I will repeat today, that three things have helped our nation to maintain the unity and tranquillity which we enjoy at present: the Swahili language, the Arusha Declaration, and the one-party system. Perhaps I should add a fourth: the patriotic and political Army.

Had we decided to establish an army consisting of political illiterates and mere onlookers, I doubt if we could really have built a democracy and maintained the unity and tranquillity we now enjoy in the country. Therefore, if one of the prices of changing our one-party democracy system and trying a multiparty democracy system entails dissociating the Army from politics, that price alone, in my opinion, constitutes an adequate reason for persevering with our present system. Our Army cannot be transformed into one consisting of illiterates or mere onlookers in politics. Our Army is a better political college than any other in the whole country. Our Army cannot be a mercenary army. It is a patriotic Army. I do not know if our Army could be expected to build capitalism. That was not our objective. We have tried hard to make our Army a socialist college. I hope that we have succeeded and that our Army will continue to safeguard and defend the fundamental principles of the Arusha Declaration.

These are not principles to be ashamed of or apologize for. In the United States there are two parties. Both are imperialist and capitalist and they take turns ruling the United States. Both safeguard capitalism. You will never, however, hear that the U.S. President has selected a communist or socialist as commander in chief of the U.S. Army. They would reject such advice even if God gave it them. Personally, I would be very happy if Tanzania had two parties—both socialist—and categorically refused to place its security organs in the hands of those who opposed socialism?

I have been saying that CCM membership is voluntary except in these areas. A CCM card is not a condition for acquiring any kind of employment except in those aforementioned areas. Excluding those few instances I have mentioned, CCM membership is not a precondition for acquiring public service employment or trade licences or for upholding the rights of any Tanzanian citizen.

The CCM has succeeded to some extent in assuming its leadership position in our country through the democratic process of elections at the national and lower levels. [passage omitted]

The CCM has fully involved itself in this process, but its success in this respect remains rather unsatisfactory. Many times, including this time, we were forced to extend the period of voters' registration, or, as happened in the case of the election of councillors, even to postpone the whole election. This could not have happened had the party's arrangements been good everywhere and if those arrangements and the party's mechanisms had

been efficiently implemented. The CCM should examine itself and its arrangements in this respect.

Although our party's organization is theoretically democratic, we do not always exemplify democracy in everything we do. Even if our party's tasks were restricted exclusively to elections, we would have expected that, between elections, those elected and those aspiring for office in the next elections would try persistently to convene meetings according to the Constitution to discuss issues of concern. Such contenders would always be good party cadres. But we do not have this habit. Between one election and the next, many contenders forget the party and do not bother much about party meetings. They only start to remember the party when the elections are at the door. The truth, however, is that democracy is not something you can take or leave as you wish.

Democratic processes should be the subject of constant work in a democratic party and in a democratic nation, otherwise the party will always be in danger of being used as a trojan horse by a few corrupt elements. Moreover, despite the provisions of the party Constitution, not all branches have held meetings attended by all members every three months. [passage omitted]

If such meetings are not held, the citizens have no way of transmitting their views to the high-level party and government sessions. I do not know how often branch secretaries and chairmen hold meetings with the grass-root leaders to hear the grassroot views, discuss future work, recommend agendas of branch meetings or even to discuss the resolutions issued by the [word indistinct] of the party and how these resolutions affect them. Indeed, those who are nowadays called party leaders are not true leaders. They are just people who cause irritation. There are very few leaders who can be called leaders in the true sense of the word, namely being guides. You cannot be a guide by staying in your office. This is a very serious shortcoming currently affecting the CCM. Efforts have been made at least to deal with it, but these efforts have not been persevered in by way of implementing permanent arrangements to relay reports and views between the branches, districts, regions, and headquarters. Problems arising from transport, lack of funds, and so on are well known, but it is difficult to believe that we could not do party work better than we are doing it now, especially in the urban branches. More often than not the situation in the [word indistinct] branches is just as rotten as that in the districts and remote regions. [passage omitted]

Responsible for these shortcomings are the National Central Council and its former chairman. The National Central Council must make sure that the Central Committee and its Secretariat follow up the work in the regions and ensure through the regions that districts and branches are working as required. More effort must be applied to this sphere.

Another aspect of the CCM's shortcomings is that we are still not independent financially. The CCM receives huge handouts from the government. This means that it

spends the taxes of all citizens, members and nonmembers alike. I said earlier that even in a multiparty country it is not abnormal for a political party to receive funds from the government for certain tasks. In a one-party state it is very appropriate for the party to receive funds, because the party is the only body able to help the government implement its tasks, especially where the implementation needs to stimulate the citizens. If the party, however, is to remain strong and purely voluntary, then the handouts should be for special tasks only. Our party should not depend on government handouts to carry out its usual tasks. If it does it will cease to be a party and will become a mere government department. If we reach such a pass, the government will lead the party and the party will never be able to lead the government.

As I said earlier, our party is not an election party to be switched on during the elections and switched off afterwards. Our party must lead all the time. For a political party to represent the people in the government and be trusted by them, it must be near them every day. The party should help the people to develop and expand their thinking by educating them, uniting them voluntarily in their development trends, and so on. The party should help the people when they are in trouble, be it an act of God or a mere disaster in a village or even in an individual home. The party must defend all the people—men, women, and children—against wrong deeds or oppression from any quarter, be it a capitalist employer, a landlord or even a party or government official misusing his position.

As regards people coming from government organs, the MPs, members of the Council of Representatives, and the councillors have a special responsibility. I do not know how many of them try to discharge it. With a few exceptions, CCM leaders are not in the habit of being mindful of people's needs. We do not have the inclination or habit of listening to people who have genuine needs and trying to help them. People with genuine needs nowadays run hither and thither seeking help. Had all our leaders had the inclination and habit of helping the citizens, we would not be where we are now, in a situation so abysmal that the president of our country is forced to solve minor personal problems. This situation is shameful to all of us and it is a reflection of how the party and government organs work. It is very helpful for our president to do such work, but it is a waste of his time and energy which he needs for the discharge of other special and arduous responsibilities.

Lastly, in any democracy, the party which leads the government should not assume the government's responsibilities. It is a mistake for the party to behave as if it was the government. Such directives have been issued many times by myself, the National Central Council, and other party and government leaders. Our party's recommendations to the government are usually joint recommendations made by relevant sessions. Party directives on everyday affairs cannot be issued by an individual to another individual.

However, some CCM leaders have not abandoned the habit of assuming the government's mandate in various ways. They continue to issue directives to government officials that a certain person should be given a licence or be employed, or a certain group should be given funds or certain privileges. The official who is so directed, being a good CCM member, finds it difficult to refuse even if he knows that it is improper to comply. [passage omitted]

We have also decried the habit of demanding levy-like contributions from the people. Although some senior party officials have been sacked or made to resign for the same error, some branches, district offices, and even regions are still soliciting such contributions from citizens. This is not only a blunder for our party, but is also a crime. Those found perpetrating it and the committees concerned must be severely punished by the party. This control must always continue. I am not a lawyer, but I believe that those who continue to demand levy-like contributions from the people could and should have been brought to court and charged with acquiring money by unlawful means. [passage omitted]

Our voting regulations aim at empowering our members freely and equally to participate in decision-making. After having elected people to posts, it is incumbent on the party and government to pay them salaries or fringe benefits and, in some cases, both.

This is neither strange nor shameful. Our leaders are not so rich that they need not be paid, nor are they monks. But even monks must have food, clothing, and shelter. Our leaders have or expect to have families. It is therefore completely correct to pay leaders and party workers. Their pay is by no means very high except in contrast to the low pay received by people in a poor country such as ours. This is a good measure. However, none of our honest party leaders can get rich on what they are paid by the party. You all know the situation of our leaders who have retired. In many cases, they live so poorly that it is a shame.

Having said that, however, I must also say that nowadays there are so many people who fight and wrangle for leadership positions in the hope of enriching themselves. Nowadays people expect to receive fringe benefits and payments for almost every party or leadership activity. Few are the tasks carried out in a spirit of spontaneity and belief in party objectives. The spirit of spontaneity has largely evaporated. In such a situation, it is very difficult to find leaders dedicated to serving their countrymen. But every party, even a sports club, must be operated by public-spirited members. When the spirit of spontaneity dies, no party can continue to exist as a party. It becomes a mere jungle for hunting wealth. Party leadership and party work need some proof of dedication to serving our party and countrymen. [passage omitted]

If our party ignores socialist principles, it will be ignoring one of the basic foundations of peace and stability in our country. We would rock peace, because we would have done away with the hope of effecting developments

which respect humanity and equality. With all its discrepancies, our party has served our country well by striving to adhere to socialist principles. We made our great achievements by respecting socialist principles. We made some of our great mistakes when we ignored those principles. If all our members faithfully adhere to those principles, we shall be able to do a better job.

By virtue of the CCM leadership, the country has so far maintained its unity and stability. The CCM has made those achievements in spite of many economic problems and necessary and frequent changes of employees, formulae, and executive organs. Furthermore, the CCM has made achievements in spite of the economic chaos imposed on the Tanzanian economy by the world economic order. [passage omitted]

Making Kiswahili Tanzania's language helped us greatly in the battle against tribalism. If every Tanzanian had stuck to using his tribal language (or if) we had tried to make English the official language of Tanzania, I am pretty sure that we would not have created the national unity we currently enjoy. [applause] Although I am personally of the opinion that we should continue teaching English in our schools because English is the Kiswahili of the world, we have, however, an enormous duty to continue to promote and enhance Kiswahili. It is a great weapon for our country's unity.

I am not sure if we could succeed in preventing religious and tribal disputes had it not been for the one-party democratic system. The one-party system has no tribe, no religion. In a developing country like ours a multi-party system can encourage religious or tribal friction. Tanzania's position and the leadership stance on freedom of worship for all the people of our country is that neither the party nor the state has an official religion. This stance has greatly helped to build unity and stability in our country. In the case that some believers of a certain religion should want to introduce into our country the politics of religion, then the security of our country will very much depend on the country's unswerving stance of a state which has no religion, and a party or parties which have no religions. Any change of this stance will bring danger to the unity and stability of Tanzania. Religious and tribal feuds will annihilate us. This is more dangerous than AIDS.

The third important thing is how we tried to follow socialist principles as manifested in the Arusha Declaration. Now and then, we have to make some adjustments in planning, conduct, and tactics so as to ensure the desired progress. However, when we make those adjustments, Tanzania should not make the mistake of abandoning its stance, which is that of ensuring the existence of the equality of humankind, equality in basic needs for human life and human dignity for all Tanzanians. If we make such a mistake we will upset the whole foundation of stability and peace in our country, because that will mean allowing and solidifying the classes and ideas of haves and have-nots; we will allow a few people to amass wealth and power and the insolence associated with

wealth and power, while the majority are poor, oppressed, and have the complaints and anger associated with poverty and oppression. [passage omitted]

Do not believe at all that we can build lasting peace and stability in a poor country without respecting justice and equality. Capitalism by its nature does not respect the foundations of justice and equality.

Comrade President, comrade colleagues, members, I will cease being CCM chairman at the end of this session. I will never, however, cease being a member, a devoted member of the CCM. [applause] As any good member, I will be ready to give my advice if needed by national meetings. [applause]

The aim of my final speech has been to try to help our party continue to lead our nation so that it can face future problems and bring about the developments we aspire for. My aim is to require our party to strengthen itself anew, so that it can continue to lead our country in any system, whether it be a one-party or multiparty system. The liberation of Africa is not yet complete. The first phase is nearing its end, but the second one has just begun. It is my intention to see a strong CCM which will help our country continue fully to participate in the freedom movement of our African Continent. [applause]

The CCM forever!

President Mwinyi Delivers Party Congress Speech

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[Relay of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi address to Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM, Congress; at Diamond Jubilee Hall, Dar es Salaam]

[Excerpts] Comrade chairman of the CCM, comrade secretary general of the CCM, comrade delegates and comrade guests: Five years ago this month, this Congress of our party nominated me as the sole candidate for the post of president of our country. Two months later, our countrymen elected me president of the second phase of our united republic. Thus, two months from now, the government of the second phase will have completed five years of its existence. It is therefore right for me to issue a report on what we have resolved to do, its implementation, success, and the problems we experienced.

Comrade delegates, the compass that has guided all the business of the government during the past five-year period is the election manifesto of 1985. A compass is like a map: Its major function is to lead the way to the intended goal. Among the goals pronounced by the manifesto are those that are in the third and fourth clauses of the manifesto, such as, and I quote: This general election is being held under circumstances in which the Tanzanian nation is being faced by two difficult matters. First, for the first time in the history of Tanzania, the nation will elect another CCM member to be president of the United Republic of Tanzania after

Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere has decided, of his own accord, that he will not contest the post of president. Second, our nation is faced by a difficult economic situation. These two matters have important meanings for Tanzanians. First, Tanzania's policy and the nation's stance will not change—they will continue to be overseen, consolidated, and defended by the new president and his government. [applause] Second, we must agree to fight an economic war, using all our ability, and (?resolution to fight) in the environment of today's world until victory is achieved. There is no room for confusion on this point. End quote.

Comrade delegates, as a result of these directives, it is very clear that the main task of the government of the second phase was, first, to defend the nation's unchanging stand and, second, to declare war against the economy [as heard]. The first directive of the manifesto—that of not changing the stand of our nation—has been implemented by the government under the leadership of the party, a leadership that was supervised for the entire five-year period by our chairman, the father of the nation. [applause] Thus, this point does not require any further explanation.

The second directive—of fighting an economic war—has also been implemented, but as a result of the difficulty of the war itself, a large part of my report will concern the government's efforts in the war to revive and consolidate the Tanzanian economy.

Comrade chairman, you will recall that when you addressed parliament for the last time, on 29 July 1985, you clearly explained the huge economic problems that were facing our nation. I, also, when addressing the new parliament for the first time, in November of the same year, 1985, explained the economic environment that we were starting out with and the responsibilities that were facing us. It is not my intention, comrade delegates, to repeat all that I said at that time, nor do I intend to explain to you all that we have done in the five-year period of the government of the second phase. Many details are contained in the booklet which includes the government's report and which, I believe, has been distributed to all the delegates. However, it is good to remind you, comrade delegates, in brief only, what our economic situation was like and the goals we set for ourselves when the party and our countrymen gave us the responsibility of the presidency in the second phase.

Comrade chairman, the situation of our economy has been bad since 1979. A few figures will demonstrate the situation. First, in the six-year period from 1979 to 1985, the national income was increasing at an average rate of only 1 percent per annum. At the same time, the population was increasing by 2.8 percent per annum. This situation means that the national income, the average income of every Tanzanian, was declining at an average of approximately 2 percent per annum. Nearly all the important economic sectors contributed to the collapse of our economy. For instance, for three consecutive

years, that is to say between 1981 and 1983, the production of the agricultural sector was increasing by only 1-2 percent per annum.

This situation caused two sorts of problems. The first was the nation's failure to achieve food self-sufficiency. That is why, between 1979 and 1985, the nation was compelled to use a lot of foreign exchange to import a total of 1,500,000 tonnes of grain from abroad. The second problem was a decline in the production of the crops that we export every year. The result was a further reduction in our foreign exchange earnings. Production in other sectors was also very badly affected. For example, the income of the industrial situation was the same for other sectors, from minerals and transport to communications.

Comrade chairman, we all know that the cause of our economic problems is the scarcity of foreign exchange. This scarcity has been caused by two things. First, there is the fall in the production of (?crops that) we export. For example, our revenues of foreign exchange in 1981 amounted to \$554 million; but in 1985, these revenues had declined until they amounted to only \$286 million.

Second, loans and grants from abroad also fell. For example, in 1981 the loans and grants that we obtained amounted to \$335 million, while in 1984, this type of income amounted to only \$85 million. Hence, for this reason the government decided first to reduce the import of goods from outside. For example, in 1980, the government imported goods worth \$1.219 billion, but in 1983, the amount of goods imported fell until they amounted to only \$815 million. Even this step of doing what we could also created problems, namely a big scarcity of inputs, a big scarcity of raw materials, and a big scarcity of spare parts, things which are greatly needed in the national economy.

Second, even by this step we could not escape the accumulation of debt. The repayment of these debts when they matured was postponed, for if we had repayed these debts we would have been compelled to reduce the import of goods from abroad by an even larger amount.

With regard to the government's budget, as was the case in other external payments, there was a big gap between the country's revenues and expenditures. In the period 1979 to 1982, our revenues were sufficient to pay only 55 percent of government expenditures. This means we were able to be self-reliant by only 55 percent and we had to rely on others for the remaining 45 percent of our expenditures. In 1984-85, the self-reliance rate increased to 65 percent, but it should not be thought that this rate of self-reliance in that year increased because our revenues increased. No, not at all, it is not so. It increased because we applied more constraints. We reduced the actual expenditures of the government by 45 percent—that is to say, actual recurrent expenditures fell by 35 percent and development expenditures by 62 percent.

By this step, three things later emerged. The first was that we were compelled to reduce the quantity and

quality of all services that used to be provided by the government; the second was that we had to halt the implementation of development projects, even those which had already begun; and the third was that we were compelled to stop repairs to even our most important assets. The results of these steps are the effects that have now emerged—that is to say, the complete closure of some of our roads for lack of repairs; the halting of the construction of hospitals, schools, and offices; and the lack of care for and repair of our residential houses.

It is clear, therefore, that what was being done then was cutting off the nose in order to patch up the face. Our extreme constraints did not bring us the improvement we intended. Instead, they postponed and magnified subsequent problems. Nor was the big reduction of expenditures a solution, for the problem of a deficit in our budget still sticks to us like a chronic ulcer and continues to grow.

Since then, we have been compelled to fill a large portion of the gap in our economy through bank loans. For instance, in 1982-83 and 1983-84, more than half of the (cash) of our budgets was met by bank loans. As a result, we experienced a high degree of inflation, something that crippled us by causing a rise in prices by 30 percent per annum. Undoubtedly, this situation is responsible for the increase in the cost of living for our people, especially for people on low incomes.

Comrade delegates, this is a picture of the real situation we began with at the start of the five years that are now ending. Comrade chairman and delegates, it is in this climate of a grave economic situation that the second phase government started its tasks. When I addressed the new parliament on 7 November 1985, I clearly stated, and I quote: In the next five years, the great task will be the adjustment and strengthening of our economy so as to uplift living conditions and reduce the hardships currently faced by the people, end of quote. In order to fulfill that resolution, the government charted out goals to be implemented in the production, economy, and social services sectors. In the production sector, the government laid down certain targets in agriculture, industry, mines, and natural resources. Great emphasis was laid on food self-sufficiency and in boosting cash crop production. In the industrial sector, the consolidation of basic industries was envisaged. The government's aim was also to ensure that the mineral and natural resources sectors made contributions to the national income. On economic services, we understand the importance of developing various energy sources, improving main roads and village roads, and the railways.

In the social services sector, the goal was to complete and consolidate existing services.

Comrade Chairman, I do not intend to bore delegates by going into details about the steps taken to implement those tasks. Various steps have been taken, and these are known to all of us. These include the three-year economic

recovery program [ERP], which was endorsed by parliament after an agreement with the IMF was reached. As we all know, the agreement was blessed by the party. My intention today is to give a report on the results of the implementation of the goals we set for ourselves.

First, I would like to inform you that some good results have been achieved in a few areas. In general, GNP has been increasing by an average of 4 percent per annum. Due to the fact that the population has been increasing by 2.8 percent, average per capita income has been increasing by slightly above 1 percent. These achievements were realized mainly through the agricultural sector—about 60 percent of the increase of the national income was realized through an increase in agricultural output. [applause]

The delegates will remember, for instance, that our main goal in the ERP was to attain self-sufficiency in food. We have made a great step in achieving that goal. Now we are self-sufficient in our needs for maize, beans, and even rice. Over the past three years, we have had a maize surplus, which we exported. It is delightful that the citizens throughout the country, even those in the villages, buy their food requirements in the open markets and from ordinary shops. [applause]

For instance, in Dar es Salaam, foods including rice have the flooded Tandale, Buguruni Ilala, and Tandika markets. The buyer chooses the kind of rice he wants, either a morogoro or kyela type. [applause] Such a situation also prevails at all markets in the main Tanzanian towns.

It is true that there is a scarcity of wheat and sugar. However, measures are being taken to deal with the situation. On sugar, the rehabilitation efforts of our factories are in full swing with a view to increasing sugar production in the country. The efforts include giving incentives to local and foreign investors to initiate small-scale factories in the regions, districts, and even villages. The investors have responded positively to this challenge. Many are preparing to start small-scale sugar factories. On cash crops, we have scored achievements of two kinds. For many crops, we have reduced the speed of the fall in production, and cotton crop production has doubled.

Comrade Chairman, the success we have attained in agriculture has bred new problems, four boom problems. The first is the great scarcity of stores in the villages for keeping surplus crops. Therefore, the government initiated an emergency plan of storage construction in the villages. The plan combined citizens' efforts with government and donor contributions. We rehabilitated the old stores in the plan. Some 325 new stores, each with a 300 tonne storage capacity, were constructed. Some 342 old stores were rehabilitated [words indistinct] citizens were given construction and storage training. The National Milling Corporation also increased its storage capacity from 443,000 tonnes in 1985 to 533,000 tonnes in 1988-89.

The second boom problem was crop processing, especially of cotton, tea, and paddy. In 1984-85, our processing capacity was 250,000 bales of cotton per annum. Due to bumper harvests of the crop in subsequent years, much cotton was left unprocessed. In order to solve that problem, efforts were made to rehabilitate our dilapidated cotton gins. When the 1989-90 harvest season arrived, the plan had already increased our cotton processing capacity to 350,000 bales per annum, from the previous 250,000 bales per annum. Meanwhile, the government has a plan to build four new gins with a processing capacity of 120,000 bales per year. The construction of one of the four, with a processing capacity of 30,000 bales, has been completed. Construction work on the other two gins has already started and is expected to be completed in 1992. The construction of the fourth will start this fiscal year. Moreover, the government is to construct other gins in Morogoro, Arusha, and Mbeya regions. Upon completion of these projects, we will attain a processing capacity of 600,000 bales in a period of six months during each year. Simultaneously with these developments, we have also been able to make spare parts for cotton gins locally.

The third boom problem is the transport of crops. It is very clear that we have not yet succeeded in this sector. Most of our roads are in a deplorable state. Only 30 percent of our roads are good. We also have an enormous scarcity of means of transport. Our country needs 23,000 lorries of three tons and above. However, we have only 14,000 lorries at present and not all of these are in good condition. Railway transport provides for only 15 percent of our needs, although the railways are not utilized to full capacity. For instance, the central railway is utilized at 40 percent under its full capacity, while Tazara [Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority] is utilized at 48 percent of its full capacity.

This situation would have been even more grave had it not been for the great rehabilitation to resuscitate some of the wagons and locomotives; 19 locomotives and 830 wagons have been resuscitated. Likewise, 1,144 km of our roads have been asphalted, and three bridges have been repaired. These efforts brought some signs of economic recovery. However, it is quite clear that we have a mammoth task ahead.

The fourth problem is prices. Our cash crop prices have fallen viciously on the world market. For instance, in the first year of the economic recovery plan, the cotton crop increased by 70 percent, but its price on the world market tumbled by 75 percent, thus eroding all the success we achieved by the production increase. Generally, our cash crop production has increased 14 percent, but our crop prices on the world market are down six percent, compared to the prices of the same crops during the 1985-86 season.

However, I would like to inform you, Ndugu delegates, that we have reached some success in increasing the

diversity of export commodities. For instance, in 1985-86 more than 70 percent of our foreign exchange earnings came from the sale of six traditional crops. However, by 1988-89 nontraditional commodities earned 44 percent of total foreign exchange earnings. [applause] From July 1989 until June 1990, nontraditional commodities earned more than 53 million dollars.

Due to a modest increase in our foreign currency earnings in the 1989-90 fiscal year, we were able to pay our debts to the international monetary institutions. For instance, we were able to pay OPEC and the Kuwait fund, thus making those institutions start lending to us again. [applause] It is a pity that Kuwait no longer exists.

We have also been able to honor a large portion of our old debts according to our agreement with the Paris Club. The delegates should be aware also that our relations with the World Bank, the IMF, and the African Development Bank are good because we were able to honor our old debts. [applause] Likewise, we were able to pay all our dues for 1990 to international organizations like the OAU, the United Nations, [applause] and the International Fund for Agricultural Development. Plans are under way to pay our 1991 dues immediately.

Even our debts to foreign airlines bringing passengers here have been paid. [applause] This situation has helped restore corporations' confidence and respect in us, thus increasing tourist flights. These steps have helped a great deal in restoring our honor and credibility before the creditors. Consideration, Ndugu chairman, is a new Swahili word, meaning credit worthiness.

Ndugu chairman, although I have said that great successes have been achieved in the agricultural sector, it is my duty to inform you that production in other sectors has increased too. For instance, in the industrial sector productivity was up 4.2 percent in 1987, 5.4 percent in 1988, and 5.1 percent in 1989. [applause] The availability of spare parts and raw materials contributed to the success in that period. That is why some of our industries have succeeded in increasing productivity and attained 60 to 70 percent of their full production capacity compared to only 30 percent before the economic recovery program was implemented.

Ndugu delegates, hearing advertisements on our radios and TV's is a sign of our success in the industrial sector. It is encouraging that exports of industrial goods have also doubled. This is the right direction, and the government will exert efforts to expand the variety of export goods.

We cannot enhance our (economy and continue) relying on only those agricultural crops whose prices are unreliable in the world market.

Earnings from the construction, transport, and communication, sectors have also increased. The construction sector earnings have been increasing by an average of

eight percent a year over five years, while those of the transport and communications sectors have increased by an average of 3.6 percent.

In the energy sector, efforts to increase electricity production and distribution have continued. The construction of the (Mpera) power station was completed in 1988 and eight towns—Mbeya, Iringa, Dodoma, Singida, Shinyanga, Tabora, Mwanza, and Musoma—have been linked to the hydroelectrical current. [applause] Moreover, the construction of the Kiwira coal mine has been completed. The mine has a capacity of producing 150,000 tonnes of unprocessed coal a year. Some of our factories, such as the Mbeya cement factory, the paper factory in (Mgololo), and tea factories, have begun using coal from this mine.

Ndugu Chairman, it is good to remind Ndugu delegates that only 9 percent of Tanzanians have access to electricity. About one-third of the district headquarters have no electricity. This means that more Tanzanians depend on our forests for their energy, namely firewood and charcoal. Therefore, the issue of providing energy to many citizens goes hand-in-hand with the question of environment preservation.

It is estimated that firewood and charcoal requirements are 27 million cubic meters a year, but only 18 million cubic meters is actually found. We have taken steps to confront this problem. First, we have looked for ways to cut down firewood and charcoal consumption by manufacturing and distributing better firewood and charcoal stoves. Second, research on building better furnaces for making charcoal is under way. Third, we have lifted customs duties and sales taxes on all electrical and gas cookers [applause] which are locally manufactured or imported. The goal is to reduce consumption of wood and charcoal and to direct the citizens towards using other sources of energy.

Ndugu chairman, despite these steps the government is continuing with its drive aimed at encouraging citizens to increase tree planting throughout the country. Over the five-year period of the second-phase government, more than 20,000 hectares of trees have been planted in the country. We shall continue with the efforts to provide most of the citizens with their energy requirements while preserving our country's environment.

In the drive to revive our economy, the government is allowing the bank of Tanzania to buy gold directly from small-scale diggers. [applause] Since the inception of this program, the central bank has already purchased more than a tonne of gold. [applause]

Ndugu chairman, [word indistinct] clear that in the first phase of the economic recovery program, the government has put more weight on reviving and solidifying the production sectors. We have done so with a view to avoiding a famine disaster as well and increasing national earnings so that those earnings may carry the burden of funding social services.

It was not possible to attend to both directing the major portion of resources towards rehabilitating and consolidating the social services while strengthening the production sectors. As a result, we did not achieve great successes in the social services sector.

However, in the educational sector the number of primary schools has increased. The number of pupils increased by 3 percent, and teachers increased by 5 percent over the past five years. Progress in secondary school education was greater than that of the primary education in two senses: First, the number of government secondary schools has increased, as has the number of students and teachers in those schools. During the second-phase government, 38 secondary schools were opened, the number of secondary school teachers increased by 40 percent, and students increased by 37 percent. Second, there was a big increase in private secondary schools. These schools currently have more than 75,000 students. This number is 30 percent greater than that of the government secondary schools.

Likewise, technical education has expanded satisfactorily. The number of the students in the technical institutes under the Ministry of Education has increased by 33 percent, while the number of teachers in these institutes has increased by 36 percent. Moreover, teacher training under the supervision of the Ministry of Labor, Culture, and Social Services has also [words indistinct]. Our efforts and their results match our goals.

The health services sector also was affected by the lack of funds. Consequently, those services did not expand according to the need. Instead, we aimed to complete the projects in progress and enhance the existing services. During this five-year period, 60 dispensaries and 10 health centers were completed, and 49 district hospitals were given modern testing devices. Moreover, some dispensaries and health centers were expanded to enable them to provide hospital services. The health services are still unsatisfactory because they do not meet the citizens' needs, but without the steps taken, the health situation would have been even worse. In the next period, ndugu delegates, special emphasis will be attached to the health services. [applause]

Ndugu chairman and delegates, reviving the economy is a hard task and its implementation calls for a high degree of discipline. Thus, early in 1986 I concentrated on building discipline and accountability in all government machinery, from the security organs to the office and factory workers. The whole country welcomed the fire by staging marches and engaging in many activities. However, after a while the fire began to wane until it completely went out as if it were a paper fire. Efficiency and implementation dropped even more in many work places. What emerged most among the workers was their skill in explaining why they failed to deliver their responsibilities. This situation had adversely affected the citizens' confidence in their government. Therefore, I was compelled to reshuffle my cabinet in march this year. [applause] This was among other steps aimed at

enhancing implementation by fighting unaccountability, laziness, prodigality, and corruption.

These steps were taken in order to improve the sense of accountability so that we could step up our economic recovery activities. [passage omitted]

In support of this year's flood victims, our security forces, police, and prison warders contributed 8 million shillings in cash. They contributed that cash to help the people. Members of the Tanzanian Armed Forces participated fully in building houses for the flood victims. They also participated in constructing bridges in the affected areas, to bring the situation back to normal. The nation must thank our Armed Forces. Acting within the spirit of self-reliance, none of the citizens throughout the country forgot their brothers who were affected by the floods. All of us contributed to alleviate their suffering from the effects of the floods. The total amount contributed by the citizens was more than 1,500,000,000 shillings. [applause] On behalf of the government and the party, I say thanks to all Tanzanians.

Ndugu chairman, as I have said earlier, the directive that our government should not change the political stand of our nation was implemented by the government. This included our stand on foreign policy. Therefore we continued to support our brothers in Namibia in their struggle to free their country. [applause] We are happy that we have been successful in the struggle. Namibia is now a free country. We also continued to support our Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] brothers and the South African nationalists in their struggle to eliminate the rebel activities and the apartheid policy pursued by the Boers in South Africa. Even there, signs of success are beginning to show, particularly after the release of Ndugu Nelson Mandela and others.

Also, our nonaligned stand has not been changed. This stand has helped us in strengthening our freedom to air our views on various international issues, taking into consideration the interests of our nation. During the last five years, the government also enhanced its activities in improving the existing relations between our country and our neighbors by strengthening good-neighborliness. I personally visited the neighboring countries as well as the front line states, including Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Zaire, and Malawi. [applause] Leaders from Kenya, the Comoros Islands, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe also visited our country. I am happy to say that our relations with all our neighbours are very good. The government will continue to improve the existing relations within the principle of good-neighborliness.

Ndugu chairman, all this represents a summary of the successes and problems that we have faced in our activities to preserve our national policies, especially those aimed at reviving the economy. In the next period the government's goal should be to safeguard and strengthen the success already achieved and also to solve the

obvious problems, particularly those related to people's requirements. The government will continue to carry out the duties related to economic recovery. It is important that we continue to try to boost production so that we can be self-sufficient in food and increase our exports. In the agricultural sector, the government should continue with the policies and the methods which have made it possible for us to achieve success. The government should also give incentives to farmers and it should also ensure that they are given input at the proper time, and that the procedure to purchase farm products should also be improved. [passage omitted]

Despite the increase in the production of cash crops, our foreign exchange income remains at a minimum and it covers only one-third of our foreign exchange requirements. In order to solve this problem, it is essential that we increase our exports. The government will make efforts to encourage the exporters to increase their activities. We will continue to relax export conditions, including giving loans to the exporters. The government also recognizes and gives due respect to the contribution made by our brothers who are self-employed by undertaking small activities like fishing, tailoring, carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, and those involved in the hawking business. [applause] The government is devising a method of helping these people, including providing them with places where they can conduct their businesses in order for them to contribute to helping themselves and also for the recovery of our economy.

I am happy to note that big businessmen in our country have also shown great interest in helping to develop those engaged in small businesses. On 1 August 1990 I had the honor of opening a fund which had an initial capital of more than 40 million shillings. Those who are intending to start self-help projects will receive loans from the fund. I would like to thank the founders of the fund. [applause] It is my hope that other businessmen, particularly in our mass organizations, will generously contribute to the fund in accordance with their capability.

Ndugu MP's, the government budget is yet another area of problems. Right now the government deficit is more than 10 percent of the national income. This gap is being filled by money from the donors. The most affected area is imports. This situation is not good, and it is very dangerous. An independent nation should not continue to depend on loans, especially for its normal expenses. This state of affairs jeopardizes the country's independence. It is therefore the government's intention to reduce the budget deficit. In order to achieve this goal, the government will not bail out that do not make a profit. [applause] Also, we are looking at the possibility of writing off corporations whose activities are not very important in the national economy. We believe that in the prevailing circumstances, there is no need to continue to maintain some of the parent corporations.

Likewise, the war against corruption, embezzlement, and other forms of sabotage will be intensified. The injustices

perpetrated against the people by government institutions, including taking people's land, will be taken care of. The government will step up the effort to reduce its expenditures.

Regarding local government, procedures are being sought to enable it to be financially self-sufficient. At present there is a presidential commission which is studying local governments' income and expenditures. The commission's report will enable us to decide which steps are necessary to solve the problem.

Ndugu Chairman, it is also important that Ndugu delegates and the citizens know this. To some extent our economic recovery program's first phase succeeded thanks to foreign aid. The aid enabled us to increase the import of essential commodities as well as to fill in the gap in the government budget. It helped us finance various services without being compelled to borrow from our financial institutions. However, we are not sure that we shall continue to receive aid at the same rate, for two good reasons: first, owing to on-going changes in East Europe, it is possible that the donor countries will direct the aid and their investments there and will largely cut our aid; second, the conditions attached to the aid are becoming increasingly harsh. We all understand the severity of the IMF aid. As if those conditions were inadequate, now there is a tendency to attach even more conditions in subduing developing countries to force them into changing political systems, regardless of the wishes of the people concerned.

In such an atmosphere, it is our duty to seek and consolidate our own economic recovery tactics by extensive use of the resources found in our country and to reduce dependence on foreign loans. [applause] We must further examine our capacity for self-reliance. We have passed a law on an investment code. We shall continue to streamline the procedures of issuing licenses and permits to local and foreign investors. However, we should not entertain great hopes in this area. Local investors who have the ability to invest are not many. Likewise, there is no assurance that foreign investors will flow in when we want them. There is enormous competition worldwide inviting foreign investment. Therefore, although we will continue further with these efforts, the party and the government should display broad vision in looking into the areas which will further enhance our self-reliance capabilities.

In this I can correctly say that our great hopes rest in the potency of our people, those in the urban and rural areas. That potential will also be significant in successfully implementing the second phase of the economic recovery program, which has laid greater emphasis on the rehabilitation and consolidation of the essential social services. The government is currently charting a plan which

will enable the citizens to redouble their contribution in resuscitating social services.

Ndugu Chairman and ndugu delegates, that is the summary of the report on government activities over the past five years. I thank you for listening to me. Thank you. [applause] [Crowd shouts: "Mwinyi, Mwinyi, CCM, CCM."]

Nyerere Hands Over CCM Chairmanship to Mwinyi

*EA1808082090 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service
in Swahili 1700 GMT 17 Aug 90*

[Text] Dar es Salaam—Mwalimu [teacher] Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the father of the Tanzanian nation, today relinquished the chairmanship of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi [CCM]. He relinquished the post at 1500 today after declaring the results of the nomination of the presidential candidate for the United Republic of Tanzania for the elections on 28 October 1990 and the election of the new CCM chairman, Comrade Ali Hassan Mwinyi, and his deputy Comrade Rashid Mfaume Kawawa.

After handing over to the new CCM chairman the party constitution and other important CCM documents, the father of our nation, Mwalimu Nyerere, vacated the chair for Comrade Mwinyi. He then stepped down from the rostrum of the national leaders and went over to mix with fellow founder-members of the Tanganyika African National Union and Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar in the Diamond Jubilee Hall.

In his speech of acceptance of the post of CCM chairman, Comrade Ali Hassan Mwinyi said he had to admit to Mwalimu Nyerere with great sadness that the Tanzanians were most unhappy about Mwalimu's decision to relinquish the chairmanship of the CCM. However, Comrade Mwinyi said the Tanzanians received Mwalimu's decision with respect and honor as it confirmed the principles of democracy among Tanzanians.

Comrade Mwinyi said that Mwalimu Nyerere had bequeathed to him a Tanzania which enjoyed unity, peace, and stability—a Tanzania with a good reputation and respect in the world. The new CCM chairman said he would always ask God to enable him to continue all the good things which Mwalimu had constructed for our Tanzanian nation.

Comrade Mwinyi said that he was relieved by Mwalimu's promise that he was only relinquishing the CCM leadership but would continue to be a good Tanzanian and a devoted CCM member. The CCM chairman asked Mwalimu Nyerere to leave open for him his well of probity, wisdom and experience so that he, Comrade Mwinyi, could continue to find therein the means of tending the fruits of Mwalimu's leadership.

Comrade Mwinyi asked the leaders and all the Tanzanian people to give him every assistance so that he could steer the ship bequeathed to us by the father of the nation, Mwalimu Nyerere.

Government-KwaZulu-Transkei Statement on Unrest
MB2108094790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
 0933 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Pretoria Aug 21 SAPA—All political leaders have a responsibility to end the violence that has been sweeping the country, the government and the leaders of kwaZulu and Transkei said in a joint statement in Pretoria on Tuesday [21 Aug].

The statement was released by the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Transkei Leader General Bantu Holomisa after they met at the Union Buildings. They said in the statement all political leaders should carry out a responsibility to end violence by putting aside their political objectives.

"We need action and renewed commitments on the part of all political leaders in the country, that they will exert themselves for peace, that they will ensure that their followers comply with this commitment and that it passes down to grassroot level."

They added, "not only must the bloodshed cease, the war of words must cease. This has so often been interpreted to grassroots level as licence for violence."

They told a news conference that various proposals have been made to achieve these objectives, and that these proposals would be followed up. They also called on church leaders to guide their people to the effect that violence was unacceptable.

Asked about his influence to stop the violence, Mr. Buthelezi said violence gained its own momentum and that all those involved in the conflict were not necessarily ANC [African National Congress] or Inkatha members. Mr. Buthelezi said he had been meeting prominent members of the ANC in recent weeks, but for reasons of confidentiality they could not be identified. He hoped there might be a chance of achieving a breakthrough by continuing these discussions.

Asked whether his participation in Tuesday's meeting implied criticism of the ANC's failure to initiate talks with Mr. Buthelezi at top level, Gen. Holomisa said he had taken part in the talks "as a foreigner to represent the views of Xhosa" on the conflict situation. Asked whether he thought there was an urgent need for discussion between the ANC and Mr. Buthelezi, Gen. Holomisa said such talks should be held at an appropriate time, because at present the most pressing issue was to end the violence.

Violence Toll in Soweto, East Rand as of 20 Aug
MB2008200490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
 1954 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By Jonathon Rees]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 20 SAPA—The total death toll

from a week's fighting in Soweto and East Rand townships stood at 381 on Monday [20 Aug] night.

SA Police [SAP] East Rand Liaison Officer Lt. Ida van Zweel said 270 people had been killed on the East Rand.

SAP Soweto Liaison Officer Lt. Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said violence in Soweto had claimed 111 lives.

Lt. van Zweel said fighting in kwaThema, the latest flashpoint in recent Witwatersrand township violence, had claimed the lives of 56 people.

In Thokoza, where violence first broke out eight days ago, 120 people had died. In Katlehong, 40 people were killed since last Tuesday.

Fighting in Vosloorus left 14 dead and the discovery of seven bodies by police in Tembisa on Monday brought the total to 23 for that township.

In Daveyton, near Benoni, 14 people had died.

Two people were killed in Duduza and one in Wattville in the last week, Lt. van Zweel said.

Harms Report Details 1984-90 Unrest Figures
MB2008112990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
 1008 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Pretoria Aug 20 SAPA—An incredible weight of statistical evidence submitted by police terrorism expert, Maj. Gen. Hermanus Daniel Stadler, to the Harms commission of inquiry, was said on Monday [20 Aug] to be outside the framework of the commission's brief.

The 1,600 odd page affidavit and annexures submitted by Gen. Stadler to the commission on Monday could have been sent to the state president by any clerk and did not need investigation, Mr. George Bizos, SC [senior counsel], for the ANC [African National Congress], told the commission.

[Orange] Free State attorney general, Mr. Tim McNally, said he did not agree and Gen. Stadler's submission would form a valuable part of the commission's inquiries.

Gen. Stadler then told the commission there had been a total of more than 51,000 incidents of unrest between September 1984 and May this year. These incidents had left 4,529 people dead and 12,449 injured.

The brutal system of necklacing, peculiar to South Africa, had killed 801 people and injured 178.

Between September 1984 and December last year, 20,581 buildings had been damaged in unrest at a cost of R [rand] 128.18 million. During the same period damage estimated at R164.43 million had been done to 29,032 motor vehicles. Between January 1976 and the end of April this year, there had been 433 attacks against the police, 60 against the SADF [South African Defense Force], 36 against the legal

system, 224 against other state bodies, 315 against the economy and 336 against civilians.

Terrorism between January 1977 and the end of April this year had left 240 people and 1,350 injured. Police between January 1976 and the end of April this year had arrested 780 ANC terrorists and killed 224. Another 734 ANC members were arrested and 15 killed during the same period.

Between January 1976 and April this year 395 hand grenades had been used in attacks while 3,077 had been found. In the same period police found 80 landmines while 58 were used in attacks. A total of 420 limpet mines were used while 1,056 were recovered. Police also recovered 1,379 firearms and 229 were used in attacks. Gen Stadler also listed seven attacks believed to have been perpetrated by the extreme right wing which were still unsolved. These included two explosions at UNISA [University of South Africa], a blast at the Baragwanath drive-in and an explosion at the Transkei consul in Port Elizabeth.

He also gave detailed evidence of 166 terror incidents for which the ANC had admitted responsibility, these included the June 1980 explosion at Sasol One [South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation] and the Church Street car bomb in Pretoria. The hearing continues.

Inkatha Leader Interviewed on Violence, Talks

*MB2008174090 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" Program]

[Text] Today, there is no sign of a let-up in several days of bitter fighting in Johannesburg's black townships which has led to an estimated 360 deaths. Trouble is still flaring in the townships of Tembisa and Soshanguve this afternoon and in kwaThema alone today some 30 people have died.

The conflict which has affected Soweto and several other townships seems to be spearheaded by supporters of the ANC [African National Congress] and of the Zulu-based Inkatha Movement. The ANC has been accusing Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi of sparking off the the fighting. So, on the line to Ulundi in kwaZulu Robin White asked Chief Buthelezi if he had told his supporters to go on the offensive.

[Begin recording] [Buthelezi] It is rubbish, of course, and you should know that it is rubbish because I have no military, army. I have no military wing. They have the military wing. They are the ones who only last week said they are abandoning the armed struggle. They were the ones who staged what they call the people's war where people who were councillors and policemen and everyone that they called a collaborator or who worked within what they called the system, was attacked.

I mean all those things are very well known. We are singled out, the Zulu people are singled out, for attacks by ANC for reasons which I cannot understand and I

have pleaded for a meeting between myself and Dr. Mandela which has not taken place up to now. So, I really don't know why I would [changes thought] really, I have nothing to gain by violence. In fact, I abhor violence and I have been targeted all these years precisely because I rejected their strategy of violence.

[White] But, Chief Buthelezi, we are getting reports today of Zulus armed with assault rifles, shooting (?houses) and hostels.

[Buthelezi] But it is just rubbish. If you want to believe that rubbish, then it is for you. I can't say anything more.

[White] But, Chief, where are your supporters getting AK-47's from?

[Buthelezi] Who says my people have AK-47's?

[White] This is the police today. They are saying that your supporters are armed with AK-47 rifles.

[Buthelezi] I don't know anything about it. I don't know anything about that. If any of my people have got AK rifles, then they should be asked by the police themselves. I don't know anything like that because, by implication, when you ask me that question, you imply that I know anything about the violence, when I don't anything and it is not orchestrated by myself.

[White] So, you are denying that any of your supporters carry arms?

[Buthelezi] It is not orchestrated by me. I don't know anything about what you are telling me now. I have just arrived in my office now and as a courtesy to you I put this call now. I have been away from my office for a week.

[White] What about the accusation that you are somehow trying to shoot your way onto the negotiating table?

[Buthelezi] That is a lot of bullshit of course because you know that it is not Inkatha which is committed to violence. It is ANC that is committed to violence. It is ANC that has got Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing]. It is ANC that, whose spokesmen like Mr. Hani and others, and Mr. Gwala here, in this province, say that they will liberate this country with AK-47 rifles. It is not me saying that.

[White] But aren't you basically annoyed that the South African government doesn't seem to want to talk to you. It wants to talk to the ANC?

[Buthelezi] But (?that is not true) because the South African government, in fact, released Mandela because of me. It is I who insisted that they must release Dr. Mandela and other political prisoners. For a whole year, I was negotiating with the South African government, removing some of the obstacles that impede negotiations and the stage that has been reached, has been reached in fact because of me.

[White] Chief Buthelezi, what do you think is the way out of the current crisis?

[Buthelezi] Well, I think the way out of the current crisis, we should talk. The ANC, its leaders and Inkatha leaders should talk and I believe that all of us must tackle the violence together. I think that there was something commendable in what Dr. Mandela suggested in fact in April, when he suggested that we should both go to Maritzburg together to address our followers in a joint peace rally which of course was aborted by some of the leaders of the ANC who denied Dr. Mandeia, you know, the right to go there.

[White] But you would be prepared to meet Mr. Mandela now?

[Buthelezi] But I have invited him consistently. Surely, the BBC must be aware, you must be aware of that yourself, that I have given him actually definite dates and so on, and it is not me, it is him who has said that he was almost throttled at the suggestion that he should meet me by other leaders of ANC. He says so by his own admission. So, why should you ask me whether I am prepared to meet when he has said that he has been prevented himself? It is not me who is prevented by my followers from meeting him.

[White] Other ANC people seem to think that that would give you a kind of credibility that you don't reserve if he were to meet you?

[Buthelezi] That is a lot of bullshit, you know. Why do you worry to phone me if I do not matter? Why do you worry about phoning me then, if I don't matter then?

[White] I didn't say we thought you didn't matter. I am saying other ANC people think that you shouldn't be given credibility?

[Buthelezi] But [words indistinct] even address such propaganda. I mean if you don't know who I am, if you don't know my constituency and if you don't regard me as a player in South Africa, then you shouldn't worry about phoning and asking me to talk to you. [end recording]

ANC Comments on Withdrawal of Indemnity

MB2008141890 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1130 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Africa South" Program]

[Text] Three high-ranking members of the ANC [African National Congress] have lost their indemnity from prosecution.

President de Klerk has refused to renew the temporary indemnity granted to Mr. Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK], to Mr. Ronnie Kasrils, former MK intelligence chief, and to South African Communist Party Politburo member, Mr. Mac Maharaj. For the ANC's response to this news, we have on the line Mr. (Sakkie Nakozoma) of the ANC's information directorate.

[Begin recording] [(Nakozoma)] We are greatly concerned that this has happened, because we feel it goes against the grain of all the discussions that the ANC has had with the government, and the implications of the Pretoria Minute is that these three individuals would fall within the categories agreed on in Pretoria, and therefore by 1 October they should benefit from the general indemnity, so we don't see why it was necessary to take that kind of action at this stage.

[Unidentified reporter] Is the ANC thinking of making any representations to the government on the issue?

[(Nakozoma)] Yes, we will do that with whatever channels are available to us, and I think the issue will be raised at whatever contact we have with the government. I am not aware of any specific meetings requested for that purpose (?at this time).

[Reporter] Do you think that the decision might have been prompted on the government's side by Mr. Hani's remarks concerning the fact that the ANC might have to take power forcibly, and that these might have been considered as somewhat inflammatory?

[(Nakozoma)] Well, it's quite clear that the government has considered those inflammatory. But I have read the text of Mr. Hani's speech which was made in the Transkei. And what he has said, once it's read soberly, without an intention to propagandize around the issues, shows quite clearly that he has not departed from the commitment of himself and MK through the process that is taking place, and I think if people read that in the context of what he was saying they would have understood what he was saying. Ultimately, I think there are very few people who would accept the position—and this is the implication—that if negotiations for some reason broke down, that then black people in this country were to forget about their rights. I don't think that's a position that many people would support. But that's the implication of the [word indistinct] cry about that: That in fact we must forswear the responsibility, in fact, to take action if and when negotiations come to an end, for whatever reason. But it doesn't mean that either Mr. Hani or the ANC is not committed to the process; it's a question of an if. So, I mean, that brouhaha about that issue really was unfortunate as far as I'm concerned.

[Reporter] What does the withdrawal of the indemnity actually mean for the three men involved?

[(Nakozoma)] We're not too sure. It really depends on what the government has in mind as far as that is concerned. I would presume that it would mean, some (?press people) in fact have (?for instance) that it would mean that either of these would be arrested if they were to be found by the police. [sentence as heard] But in the light of all that is taking place, that is why I even find it more inexplicable as to what they would do after they have arrested (?the third one), and for what purpose. [end recording]

ANC Admits Having Lacked 'Political Tolerance'

MB2008125790 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
20 Aug 90 p 6

[By Stan Hlophe]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] has for the first time admitted that its supporters and members have failed to exercise political tolerance in the race to gain the support of the people.

In the ANC's first legal issue of its mouthpiece, MAY-IBUYE, in South Africa since it was unbanned on February 2, the organisation has conceded that a number of its supporters and members have not allowed other forces to put their views across in their attempt to win support.

The ANC said it strongly believed it would win overwhelming backing from the people of South Africa because its policies were morally right and it was engaged in strategies that would ensure victory.

However, it pointed out that that was not the view of all sections of the oppressed.

It said there had been a tendency in ANC ranks in the past to accept views without question merely because they came from leaders.

The article warned members that there was no place for hooliganism in the struggle. It warned ANC supporters to direct their actions to the "real enemy."

Instead of short-sighted violence they should endeavour to build unity, even on a limited basis, with political rivals.

Apartheid had denied most people their basic democratic rights, such as freedom of expression, association and speech. These undemocratic conditions had given rise to a sub-culture of intolerance, and the victims were the entire political community of South Africa, the article said.

Russian Official 'Softening' on De Beers Deal

MB2108072690 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] The first vice president of the Russian Republic, Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov says the Republic is prepared to implement a controversial deal with the Swiss affiliate of De Beers to market Soviet diamonds worldwide in exchange for credits for the ailing national economy.

Mr. Khasbulatov's comments appear to be a softening of opposition to the deal by the Russian Government which says it holds full control over the Republic's resources.

Earlier this month, the Russian Government condemned the deal concluded last month, in terms of which De Beers agreed to lend the Soviet Union more than 2,000 million rands in exchange for diamond marketing rights.

20 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2008122190

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

ANC 'Pussyfooting' About Meeting Buthelezi—It is "strange" that months after Mandela's release from prison there is "still much pussyfooting by the ANC [African National Congress] leaders, men who have committed themselves to peace, about meeting Chief Buthelezi," declares the page 14 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 19 August. "Whatever reasons forbade an earlier encounter, they are surely not worth the blood shed by members of Inkatha and the ANC/UDF [United Democratic Front] over the past six years in general, and the past seven days in particular." In the meantime the state "must crack down unrelentingly on the perpetrators of violence wherever they are found."

Blacks, Whites 'Must Pay' for Past Mistakes—SOWETAN Editor Aggrey Klaaste writes on the same page the "worst thing" about blacks is "not race hate and intolerance. The worst thing is not political or tribal divisiveness. The worst thing about us is a petulance to expect too much from the world. Black South Africans have been conditioned to believe the world owes them something because we have been the oppressed. And if the world does not act the way we wish it to, we rebel like adolescent louts. As we have been denied democratic routes to express ourselves we have become extremists." "White South Africans are just as brilliant in their pettiness. With deep petulance they expect to hang on to a privilege that was promised on an evil system. They moan about sanctions, about the way blacks are behaving. And if they do not moan, they run. It is about time that we realised that grave mistakes were made in our history. It is about time we know that we must pay for the mistakes of the past. It does not matter who made them."

THE CITIZEN

Police Not To Blame for Violence—One of the "aims" of the ANC and its affiliates "has been to undermine black local government, the judicial system and the police," remarks Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 17 August in its page 6 editorial. "But the [police] force as a whole has carried out its task of trying to curb unrest with remarkable dedication in extremely difficult circumstances." Mandela and the others who "turn on the police should not blame the police, but blame their own organisations for creating the violence and intimidation that have turned black areas into 'war' zones. As we said yesterday, it is time to call a halt to the violence before it turns South Africa into a battleground."

THE STAR

Democrats Must Stand for 'Liberal Values'—"Caught between the National Party [NP] and the ANC, the two giants of South African politics, the Democratic Party [DP] faces a tough and uncertain future," observes Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 August on its

editorial page. The DP has an obligation to stay and fight. The NP and ANC have "different agendas and liberal values may not survive in either." THE STAR urges the DP to "campaign in the black community. Just as the ANC has launched a recruiting drive for white members, so the DP should set about recruiting blacks. Without black supporters, liberalism will die."

THE DAILY MAIL

Reasons for Mandela-Buthelezi Meeting—Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in English on 20 August in a page 8 editorial says a "great weight" is being placed on the value of a meeting between Inkatha's Buthelezi and the ANC's Mandela. The main reason for such a meeting would be to seek peace, or at least to stem "the spiral of violence in townships. There is a touch of naivete among those who believe such a meeting could have a magical effect in restoring goodwill and undoing the causes of the conflict." However, a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi "should take place—but only after both sides have made it absolutely clear they are committed to using the meeting to find a real solution, and not simply to exchange views in an open-ended way. The meeting would have to have an agenda designed to ensure a real and positive outcome."

BUSINESS DAY

Call on Mandela, Buthelezi To Exhibit Leadership Qualities—Referring to the township violence Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 August in a page 8 editorial says "much more leadership is required—not least of Mandela himself—if ANC supporters are to abandon another aspect of armed struggle." From the Inkatha side Buthelezi "does little more than deplore the

violence and blame rampaging bands of ANC militants for the continuing strife." Buthelezi and Mandela must both be "prepared to make some political compromises to stop the appalling slaughter and misery their followers have wrought. Both, in short, must exhibit the leadership qualities that will give this country hope. If they cannot, or will not because they have an eye not only on national negotiations but on the shape of the negotiating table, they will fail the test of leaders who belong at that table. The onus of proof is on them."

SOWETAN

Army To Restore Order in Townships—"The frightening thing about black townships is the number of arms, sophisticated and homemade, that are there," notes the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 20 August. "The night air is filled with the sound of heavy artillery as if there is a war going on. The irony about the terrifying weekend was that it took groups of soldiers deployed at the entrances and sides of the various hostels to halt what could have been a full-blown war." "It is the height of irony that we might have to depend on the army to restore order in the townships. Most of us have unhappy memories of the heavy presence of military units and vehicles during the State of Emergency, which is why we had wanted to see the soldiers out of civilian areas."

CAPE TIMES

ANC Considers Abandoning Sanctions—"The indication that the ANC is considering abandoning its sanctions campaign is probably the most profound development on the economic front in years," observes Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 15 August in a page 6 editorial. "Restored access to the world's capital markets would be a near panacea at this stage in our development."

Angola

Government Releases 121 UNITA Prisoners

MB2008123090 *Luanda Domestic Service*
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Excerpt] A total of 121 compatriots formerly with the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] puppet gang were released in Huila Province within the framework of the Angolan government's clemency and national harmonization policy.

That group of released compatriots were amnestied [words indistinct] from the Benteaba reeducation center. They are already in Lubango city in transit to their homes, where they can work with their families to help reconstruct our country. [passage omitted]

Report of 12 MPLA Troops Killed Near Dundo

MB2008132490 *(Clandestine) KUP in English*
to Southern and Central Africa 1222 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Jamba, Monday August 20.....[dateline as received]..Twelve (12) MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] have been killed in an UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] retaliatory attack on an MPLA military unit which has been pillaging food crops belonging to villagers in the diamond mining town of Dundo in northeast Angola.

According to military sources, the group of hungry MPLA soldiers, which is part of a military unit stationed at the town of Lucapa, south of Dundo, has been frequently harrasing villagers and stealing food and other property.

The UNITA forces in the area last weekend intercepted the group following a tip-off from village:s after MPLA soldiers had attacked and looted food and other private property in Chimesse village on the outskirts of Dundo.

Most of the looted crops and property was recovered in the attack and handed back to the villagers, the sources added.

Alleged MPLA 'Forced Recruitment' of Youths

MB2008134890 *(Clandestine) KUP in English*
to Southern and Central Africa 1219 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Jamba.....Monday August 20.....[dateline as received]...The bulk of MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] military might is slowly being reduced to skeleton units, as a result of a new wave of mass troop desertions.

Reports coming from well placed sources in the Luanda Province, say that the indiscriminate and forced recruitment of under-aged youth has become one of the MPLA's daily activities aimed at replenishing the dwindling units.

The reports add that the youth are being sent to the south where a build-up for a new major military offensive

against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]-controlled territory along the Angola/Namibia border is in preparation, after undergoing merely two weeks training.

The forced recruitment is aimed at reinforcing the skeleton units where, reportedly, the rate of desertions by both officers and soldiers are increasing.

UNITA Reports on 'Torture' in Prisons

MB2108071590 *(Clandestine) Voice of Resistance*
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Poor treatment and torture continue to be the order of the day in Minse [Ministry of State Security]-DISA [Directorate of Intelligence and Security of Angola] prisons.

Recent reports say thousands of Angolans continue [to remain] holed up in DISA prisons in various parts of the country. Reliable sources say more than 3,000 Angolans who are doing forced labor in the former colonial prison of Sao Nicolau are the targets for various kinds of abuse because they have expressed support for peace. Disease and inhuman conditions have killed many Angolans in those prisons.

Comoros

President on Cooperation With South Africa

AB2008132490 *Moroni Domestic Service in French*
1700 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The (Pangani) pilot cattle-breeding farm in the (?M'beni) region was inaugurated today. The opening ceremony was performed by Mr. Said Mohamed Djohar, the head of state, cabinet members, and other political, army, and religious officials as well as Mr. Marco Boni, the South African consul, and a high-ranking delegation from the Pretoria Ministry of Foreign Affairs who came just to attend the occasion.

Marco Boni, the South African consul, spoke of the crucial importance of the farm, which placed in the political framework [word indistinct]. According to Marco Boni, the (Pangani) pilot farm is a result of the good cooperation between the countries. Mr. Mohamed Djohar, the head of state, paid tribute to the farm's director and to South African political officials accredited to the Comoros for their contributions to the development of our country. President Djohar also hailed the good and fruitful cooperation between Moroni and Pretoria which he described as exemplary. [passage omitted]

Mercenaries Attempting To 'Destabilize' Country

EA2008191290 *Moroni Domestic Service in French*
1700 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Two mercenaries are reportedly now in our country to destabilize it in collusion with some nationals. Over to you (Ben Abdallah) for the details:

[Abdallah] Yes, [words indistinct] on Saturday [18 Aug] night, during a road control at (Sambani), the national gendarmerie intercepted a vehicle. The passengers included a white man who managed to run away. He was about to launch an attack on the (Isounzou) camp, the Comoros radio aerial, and the French Embassy. Investigations are under way to trace this person [words indistinct].

According to a well-informed source, there are reportedly in Grande-Comore two mercenaries in charge of destabilizing the country. [Max Veillard], alias (Servadac), a former member of the Presidential Guard, and (Vincent Serque) are undoubtedly acting in collusion with some nationals.

The public is accordingly urged to be vigilant and to give the security forces all information.

One is tempted to wonder if perhaps there are some who are nostalgic and are trying to revive their dictatorship with the help of international mercenaries. One can also have an idea of the consequences of such an operation: to put an end to the country's democratic experience, put [word indistinct] and provoke its total isolation.

Namibia

Comments on Repatriation of Children From GDR

MB2008174690 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1100 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] A group of about 100 children, to be repatriated from East Germany, will arrive in Windhoek on Sunday [26 Aug]. The president of the Namibian National Society for Human Rights [NSHR], Mr. (Frojan Angolo), says the children were taken there without their parents' approval:

[Begin recording] [(Angolo)] The children were taken there following an agreement in 1979 between Sam Nujoma of SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] and the infamous leader of, former leader of East Germany, Erich Honecker. That was on a party-to-party basis. Children belonging to former detainees of SWAPO were brought to East Germany without permission or the knowledge of their parents and relatives. So the children that are coming now from East Germany are mainly these former detainees of SWAPO, or also of people who are currently under SWAPO detention, or have disappeared as a result of such detention.

Of course, we have been following up the issue, and we were much more concerned about the small children who were taken to East Germany in 1989—that was during the repatriation, the UN repatriation process. The facts speak for itself [as heard], that these children, who many of them are now at the Kinderheim—a place called Kinderheim in East Germany—have no parents, none whatsoever. Now, mind you [as heard] that I visited this place in March this year, and I spoken [as heard] to the director of this house, this Kinderheim, it is a kindergarten house there, and he told me that all these children,

their parents are accountable, I mean their parents are known and they receive regularly letters from their parents, which I know anyway it wasn't true. When he showed me the list of these children, I [break in recording] This is now the question.

We have—when say we. I mean, the National Society for Human Rights have been (?wording) accusations on SWAPO, and also on the Council of Churches in Namibia [CCN], and on the East German regime, that these children will now pose a big problem. They must not be repatriated before their parents, (?before) their identities have been established. Of course, this was not done. But our accusations were refuted by the Council of Churches in Namibia, which was trying always to be like a holyflier of SWAPO, so they said it wasn't true what the NSHR was saying, so these children indeed have their parents available.

Now, the latest statement over [word indistinct] in Namibia is calling for people to come forward who know these children, and according to the CCN these children were taken to Germany when they were very, very young and therefore cannot say who their parents were. Now, it is going to be a very big problem. We have heard that they are going to be housed in a SWAPO-supported people's primary school in Katutura. This also confirmed the fact that their parents in fact are not known. Why would they be (word indistinct) in one place if their parents were available? Why cannot they go to their, the homes of their parents, is the question. It is clear that these children in fact belong to people who have disappeared as a result of SWAPO detention. We know for a fact as well that there are people of, I mean children of SWAPO detainees who were repatriated last year. We know at least of five children, and these parents are now waiting for their children.

[Reporter Steyn de Preuter] How many children will stay behind, you believe?

[(Angolo)] We were told that about 100 are coming on 26 August, and 300 others will come in a day, or maybe within a week afterwards. Now, the problem being that the East German government apparently does not want anymore to be held accountable for these unidentified children, so they have to be brought back home and the Government of Namibia has to deal with their own problem.

[De Preuter] Are you aware of any other children living elsewhere in similar circumstances?

[(Angolo)] Yes, we are. We have evidence that there are some other, I think 160 children living in Czechoslovakia, and we hope that these children are also (?to be) repatriated (?to) Namibia very soon. We believe that there is quite a number of children also in Cuba. We don't know as yet how many in numbers, but we believe that there is quite a considerable amount of children over there, and there may even be SWAPO detainees who were shifted from Angola. [end recording]

Zambia

Masheke Says Multipartyism Means 'Bloodshed'

MB2008193290 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Prime Minister Malimba Masheke warned today that if Zambia opts for a multiparty system of government it will be inviting bloodshed in the country. Launching the retention of the one-party campaign in Solwezi, General Masheke said that it is up to Zambians to choose between the two systems.

He called on UNIP [United National Independence Party] members not to be lured in any way by the voice of the multiparty advocates. He said by accusing UNIP of having vandalized the country, some of the multiparty advocates were equally to blame because they were in the government before. Comrade Masheke said should multipartyism be introduced in Zambia it will mean the end of independence and dignity of Zambians.

Earlier, Northwestern Province member of the Central Committee Alexander Kamalondo said reports reaching his office say that multiparty advocates are behaving as if they are already a party. Comrade Kamalondo that UNIP could have reacted to some of the charges levelled against it but decided to remain cool.

Minister Scores Labor for Multiparty Support

MB2008193490 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Secretary of State for Defense and Security Alex Shapi has lashed out at the country's labor movement which he said has turned into an opposition party to the present government by supporting the multiparty system. Comrade Shapi said the move taken by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions [ZCTU] to support multipartyism has caused Zambians to be [words indistinct] unrepresented. Comrade Shapi lashed out at the labor movement when he addressed the [words indistinct] government and parastatal organizations in [words indistinct] at the start of his tour of the Eastern Province. He said the meeting [words indistinct] the ZCTU, for selfish motives, has decided to use innocent workers [words indistinct] colonialism in the country.

Grey Zulu: 'Advocates Have an Axe To Grind'

MB2008192690 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Party Secretary General Grey Zulu charged in Ndola today that some of the multiparty advocates have an axe to grind with the UNIP [United National Independence Party] leadership and want to take over the reigns of power [words indistinct]. Comrade Zulu, who was addressing party

leaders at (?Adult) Education Center, said the multiparty advocates are making a lot of allegations to discredit the UNIP leadership. He challenged them to prove the allegations so that culprits who have pocketed public funds can be brought to book. He said UNIP was [words indistinct] to the best of its ability because of the love it has in people, adding UNIP stands for the interests of the peasants, workers, and progressive intellectuals.

* Newsmen Advised To Apply 'Good Judgement'

90AF0501D Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA
in English 9 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] A cabinet minister has advised journalists to apply good judgment in their daily operations by reflecting views that safeguard "national interest" if they are to survive the political turbulence sweeping across the country.

Minister of Information and Broadcasting Cde Arnold Simuchimba said when he addressed Lusaka-based TIMES Newspapers journalists that:

"You and I are victims of circumstances and you should be careful in your analysis so that in future it will not be said that journalists helped to tear Zambia to pieces."

Cde Simuchimba noted that during the disturbances over the foiled coup attempt, several media personnel were held hostage at the Mass Media complex while himself miraculously escaped unhurt after driving through the gauntlet.

Journalists who were privileged to closely monitor events taking place around the world should be conscious of the environment under which they were operating to achieve their goal of nation building.

The media engulfed by two forces springing from multiparty advocates and the one party supporters could do well "to move along with the tide" because when trouble erupts even journalists will suffer.

The minister reminded Pressmen gathered in the TIMES newsroom that they too like politicians, had earned themselves enemies through their reporting which offended some people.

Underlining the seriousness of the situation under which the media operates, Cde Simuchimba warned that they were as vulnerable to danger like any other Zambian.

Multi-party politics was not the wish of most Zambians as those "sowing seeds of discord were a few spent forces" that had fallen out of politics and had scores to settle with the present leadership.

He was accompanied by Parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Information Cde Noel Mvula and assistant secretary Cde Benson Sianga.

The Gambia

NPFL Delegation Arrives in Banjul 20 August

AB2108114090 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT
21 Aug 90

[By Christian Spillman]

[Excerpts] Paynesville, Liberia, Aug 21 (AFP)—Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor dismissed West African peace moves as a plot to "thwart" him as a multi-national force was dispatched to this civil-war wracked nation. [passage omitted]

(Meanwhile in Banjul, an AFP correspondent reported that the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] delegation arrived Monday [20 Aug] night. It was led by Ernest Eastman, the foreign minister in Mr. Taylor's rebel government, and also comprised Tom Woewiyu, the defence minister, James Laveli Supuwood, the justice minister, and Sylvester Selekpoh, a 26-year-old student responsible for information. They were to have talks with Sir Dawda [Jawara] and foreign ministers of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] mediating committee.) [passage omitted]

Further on Talks

AB2108093590 Dakar PANA in English 0902 GMT
21 Aug 90

[Text] Dakar, 21 Aug. (PANA)—Official Gambian Government sources have confirmed that Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor will not attend the Banjul talks with ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] foreign ministers scheduled for Tuesday [21 Aug], due to a minor car accident, Radio Gambia reported Tuesday.

The radio, monitored in Dakar, said that Taylor will be represented by his closest aides, Tom Woewiyu and Ernest Eastman. Last week, [words indistinct] failed to show up twice for meetings with ECOWAS Chairman Dawda Jawara.

The meeting of foreign ministers of the members states of the ECOWAS mediation committee made up of Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Togo is expected to arrange a truce to allow the deployment of the ECOWAS peace keeping force, ECOMOG, in Liberia. Foreign ministers of the neighbouring countries of Sierra Leone and Guinea as well as parties to the conflict in Liberia are also expected to attend.

The force, numbering 2,500 men from Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo have assembled in Freetown awaiting orders to deploy from ECOMOG commander, Lt. Gen. Arnold Quainoo.

Quainoo and the ECOWAS Executive Secretary Abbas Bundu arrived in Banjul Monday for Tuesday's talks.

Ghanaian and Togolese foreign ministers were expected in Banjul Tuesday, Gambian officials told PANA Monday.

Guinea

Border With Liberia, Ivory Coast Closed

AB2008174990 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] As the conflict in Liberia increasingly spills over into neighboring countries, Guinea has decided to close its borders. The idea is to try and close up one of the routes used by Charles Taylor's rebels to bring in reinforcements. From the Ivorian capital, Abidjan, Elizabeth Blunt reports:

[Begin Blunt recording] Guinean border guards began turning travellers back last Tuesday afternoon [14 Aug] from the border post near Nzo, close to where borders meet between Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Liberia. Among those refused entry were aid workers trying to get to the areas around the Guinean town of Nzerekore which has received tens of thousands of refugees from the conflict. An official at Ivory Coast's Ministry of the Interior confirmed that the border had been closed by the Guinean authorities and said that the Guineans have said that this was to prevent reinforcements reaching Charles Taylor's rebel forces through Guinea.

The area of Guinea adjoining Liberia has becoming increasingly disturbed in recent weeks and [words indistinct] military presence along the whole length of the border. Guinea has suffered repeated raids, both from groups of rebels and from fleeing government soldiers, the soldiers intimidating local people in their search for food, the rebels pursuing their vendetta against members of the Mandingo tribe, even on the Guinean side of the border. Residents in the Liberian border town of Ganta last week reported hearing a lot of shooting from the direction of the border crossing and seeing rebel reinforcements heading in that direction.

Guinea is one of the countries which are contributing to the West African peacekeeping force for Liberia now assembled near Freetown in Sierra Leone. But the commander of the force, General Arnold Quainoo, said on Friday that the Guinean troops masses on the border, were not part of the force and not under his command. But it is clear that if the Guinean Army gets drawn into a direct confrontation with the National Patriotic Front rebels, this could cause trouble for the peacekeeping plan, strengthening the Front's complaint that certain members of the force, such as Guinea and Nigeria, are not sufficiently neutral to play a peacekeeping role. [end recording]

Taylor's 'Senseless Opposition' to Peace Moves

*AB2008205990 Conakry Domestic Service in French
1945 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] We open the African news chapter of this evening's news bulletin with the big failure by Charles Taylor to honor the Banjul appointment. The Liberian rebel leader was expected today by President Jawara. He had himself represented by a delegation of the Patriotic Front, thereby demonstrating his senseless opposition to the peaceful and diplomatic settlement of the Liberian drama.

A meeting involving the various Liberian parties is scheduled to take place on 27 August in Banjul while the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] intervention force, ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] is still expected in Monrovia where there is talk of a possible cease-fire between government troops and Prince Johnson's rebels. [passage omitted]

Liberia

Doe Spokesman Cited on Talks With Johnson

*AB2008172290 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There is a lot of speculation about what has been happening in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, this weekend following reports that rebel faction leader Prince Johnson and President Samuel Doe have signed some kind of truce. Prince Johnson's rebels and soldiers from the government forces have been seen celebrating together in the streets and joining civilians to loot whatever is left to take from the already ransacked shops. The suggestion is that the agreement is in part a preparation for the arrival of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peacekeeping force, ECOMOG. Well, early this afternoon, President Doe's spokesman, Selly Thompson, called us from the Executive Mansion and spoke to Elizabeth Ohene. Here is her report:

[Ohene] Mr. Selly Thompson, the Executive Mansion spokesman, said he wanted to express President Doe's unhappiness at the ECOWAS peace plan they have received through the American ambassador in Monrovia. He said it was wholly unacceptable that ECOWAS should be discussing the shape of an interim government when what was needed was the imposition of a cease-fire by the arrival of ECOWAS forces. For the delegates in Banjul to be discussing an interim government, he said, showed a complete and total disregard for the Constitution and sovereignty of Liberia and was particularly insensitive to the sufferings of the people in Monrovia. He said it was unrealistic for Liberia's political future to be discussed in Banjul and insisted that there should first be a cease-fire and then, constitutional negotiations can take place in Monrovia.

It was only when I asked him about the possibility of government forces declaring a unilateral cease-fire that Mr. Thomson came up with the quite astonishing news that he had himself been involved since Thursday [16 Aug] in efforts to bring about a cease-fire between government forces and Prince Johnson's forces. According to him, he had himself met with Johnson. I broke the ice, he said, and reported back to President Doe. And at our meeting, he said that there had been a general consensus on the need for peace.

When I pressed him if, therefore, there now existed a cease-fire between the two sides, he said, and I quote: Generally, yes. There is a cease-fire, except that the technical and military details as how to merge our forces, are still being worked out. He said a joint communique will be signed by Prince Johnson and President Doe. I asked if this meant that both groups were now going to fight Charles Taylor's forces, and he said that was not necessarily the case but that they hoped their coming together would convince Charles Taylor that there was no need for war.

When I asked him how Prince Johnson could be regarded as an ally when he had so often declared his aim to overthrow President Doe, he said that Prince Johnson had told them that his main concern was the need to have an elected leader after free and fair elections. Mr. Thompson said that their chief of staff and minister of defense had subsequently visited the Bushrod Island headquarters of Prince Johnson where they were received jubilantly.

Charles Taylor Comments on Situation in Country

*AB2008215890 Paris AFP in French 2113 GMT
20 Aug 90*

[Text] Paynesville (Liberia), 20 Aug (AFP)—Mr. Charles Taylor, the president of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL, the main rebel movement), has decided not to travel to The Gambia, contrary to what was announced by his advisors, and has accused the United States of "sowing discord" by supporting President Samuel Doe.

"I have no intention of going to Banjul. There is no peace plan for Liberia. Everything being done now is aimed at thwarting my efforts. People hate me," he stated this evening to a group of journalists whom he met in the premises of the Coca-Cola factory in Paynesville, a suburb east of the capital, where he has set up his headquarters.

Dressed in a blue and grey flight suit, after getting rid of a heavy bullet-proof vest, and seated in an armchair placed against his all-weather bullet-proof Mercedes, Mr. Taylor disclosed that five days ago, his troops launched an important operation against the positions held by fighters of the dissident Prince Johnson on Bushrod Island (west of the capital), where the Monrovia Freeport is located.

Mr. Taylor admitted the possibility that Prince Johnson's troops have rallied to those of President Doe, as stated by certain reports from Monrovia. But he stated that Prince Johnson would have never done that, thus relaunching the debate on the death of the dissident rebel. An NPFL top official announced on 13 August in Abidjan that Prince Johnson was dead, but that report was immediately denied by the U.S. State Department and Johnson himself.

Mr. Taylor today stated that the dissident rebel had been shot in an ambush and that his body had been taken to the Duside Hospital in Harbel on the Firestone plantation. Several Western journalists, including the AFP correspondent, were able to see the body of the man presented as Prince Johnson but they were unable to identify the body. The body had two gunshot wounds—one in the right leg and the other in the abdomen—as well as an injury to the face.

"Prince Johnson would never join Samuel Doe. I knew him. They put a puppet there and made people believe that it is Johnson. It is unthinkable that Gios and Manos should join the Krahn soldiers of Samuel Doe," Charles Taylor stated.

Gios and Manos are two tribes of the Yacouba ethnic group in Nimba County, in the northeastern part of Liberia. They have been persecuted since General Thomas Quiwonkpa's coup attempt in 1985 and they have rallied around Charles Taylor's movement since the beginning of the insurrection on 24 December 1989.

"The United States has given food, weapons, and ammunition to Samuel Doe's troops. It arranged for the agreement between the man presented as Prince Johnson and Samuel Doe," Charles Taylor stated.

"There is a concerted plan to sow discord so that the bloodbath can continue in this country. We will not let this happen. We will fight Doe, Johnson, and all those who want to stop us," he added.

Several Parties Invited to 'National Conference'

AB2008194290 Dakar PANA in English 1834 GMT
20 Aug 90

[Text] Dakar, 20 Aug. (PANA)—Up to 10 invitations have been issued to Liberian political parties to attend the 27 August national conference called by ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] on the setting up of an interim government for Liberia, official sources told PANA Monday [20 Aug]. They added that this number, which includes President Samuel Doe's party as well as those of Charles Taylor and Prince Johnson, the two rebel leaders fighting to overthrow Doe, could easily add up to 12 or more, as there are many Liberian political groupings.

The officials say enquiries from Liberians who want to attend the Banjul conference have been coming in from all over, even from as far away as Australia. Already,

they say a representative of one of the parties has arrived in Banjul along with General Washington, a former top aid of Liberian President Samuel Doe.

Meanwhile, uncertainty prevailed in official circles about Taylor's planned visit to Banjul more than 24 hours after he was due to have arrived for a crucial meeting Monday with the chairman of the mediation committee, and with foreign ministers of the member states of the committee.

Nigeria

Sunday Papers Comment on Liberian Situation

AB1908184390 Lagos International Service
in English 1030 GMT 19 Aug 90

[From the press review]

[Text] Most Nigerian Sunday [19 Aug] newspapers review the present situation in Liberia. In a front-page report, the DAILY TIMES says new cease-fire proposals have been submitted to all three parties to the Liberian conflict by the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group in Liberia, ECOMOG. The proposals include a stop to all military activity and an end to all forms of violence that could jeopardize the establishment of an interim government. The paper further says that also included in the proposals are the release of political prisoners of war and the ban on the importation of weaponry.

The TIMES quotes a spokesman of ECOWAS as saying yesterday that efforts are being made to attain a cease-fire before the full intervention in the conflict begins.

The REPUBLIC, in its review, says common sense demands that we must be more diplomatic than belligerent. We have the duty to keep the peace and restore law and order. But logically, we were handicapped initially and again we wanted to go there as an honest broker to ensure that our nonbelligerent culture is maintained.

Labor Congress Condemns ECOMOG Participation

AB2108123390 Dakar PANA in English 1150 GMT
21 Aug 90

[Text] Lagos, 21 Aug (NAN/PANA)—The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) Monday [20 Aug] in Lagos condemned Nigeria's participation in the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Peace Keeping Force [title as received] for Liberia, ECOMOG, a national daily newspaper, the VANGUARD reported Tuesday.

The Congress described the Nigerian participation as a waste of economic and military resources and suggested that instead of ECOMOG, the sub-region should put pressure on President Doe to resign and go.

In a letter signed by Congress President Paschal Bafyau to the Nigerian chief of general staff, the Congress said: We scarcely need to emphasise that Nigeria's involvement in the

military mediation will no doubt place on us enormous economic and military responsibility at a time when more hands should be on deck to help turn our crisis-ridden economy toward healthy growth and full recovery.

It further said that Congress finds it inexplicable that Nigeria in the name of sub-regional diplomacy, procrastinated in evacuating our dear citizens from Liberia when the situation in that country was less tense.

However, the Congress said that it appreciated the intervention of ECOWAS in the Liberian crisis but observed that the community unduly dragged its feet right from the inception of the crisis to which it attributed the present Liberian state of affairs.

In [the] Congress's view, the decisions to intervene militarily in the Liberian crisis could have been taken by an emergency ECOWAS summit in view of the grave economic and political implications of carrying out the decision and the vital need to spread the military and economic responsibility to all member states, the Congress said.

*** NNPC, Gulf Disagreement Stalls Gas Project**

90AF0511B Lagos BUSINESS TIMES
in English 23 Jul 90 p 24

[Article by Mike Oduniyi, Energy Correspondent]

[Text] A sharp disagreement between the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and the Gulf Oil Company (GOCON) has stalled the execution of \$500 million (about N4 billion) gas utilization project.

The project aimed at checking gas flaring, involves the construction of a processing and distribution system capable of handling 2.17 billion cubic meters of gas a year from the NNPC/Gulf joint venture oil fields in the Escravos area.

An investigation by the Business Times showed that the take-off of the project which was scheduled for early next year, had been facing some obstacles, as the joint venture partners disagreed on contract terms.

The bone of contention was a proposal by Gulf, the operator of the project that its investment cost should be offset from the 85 percent Petroleum Profit Tax (PPT) it was paying to the Federal Government on oil production.

The final approval from the NNPC with 60 percent holding in the project was also held up as Gulf requested for guarantees that the Nigerian Gas Company (NGC) would pay for all the gas supplied under the contract.

*** Base Oil Production Stopped at Kaduna Refinery**

90AF0511A Lagos BUSINESS TIMES
in English 23 Jul 90 pp 1, 8

[Article by Mike Oduniyi, Energy Correspondent]

[Text] The Kaduna refinery has stopped producing base oil, the major raw material for manufacturing lubricants,

otherwise known as engine oil. Oil industry source told the BUSINESS TIMES in Lagos that the stoppage of base oil production was because of malfunctioning of the crude distillation unit (CDU) of the plant. The unit is responsible for the processing of 15,000 metric tonnes per day of heavy crude oil grade being imported from Venezuela, into four grades of base oil. With the closure of the CDU, oil industry watchers said that the nation might experience shortage of engine oils and grease since the refinery is the only one out of the nation's four that produces base oil. CDU of the Kaduna refinery produces 50,000 barrels per streamday of base oil, which NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation] officials said, could only meet 60 percent of the total demand of the industry. The NNPC currently augments the short fall through importation. BUSINESS TIMES gathered that the NNPC for some time now, had not been able to import the product, and further investigation revealed that oil marketing companies had stocks to last only six days as at last week Monday. Said a top official of one of the oil companies, "the situation now is disturbing operation and sales activities and of course the image of the oil companies. The public would not understand what we are going through but would think we just wanted to create artificial scarcity to increase price." Meanwhile, oil companies have come out to defend the recent deregulation of prices of lubricants. In an interview with BUSINESS TIMES, the managing director of Total Nigeria Limited, Mr Jean Verlet, said that this was necessary in order to continue to produce high quality lubricants. According to Mr Verlet, although the price of base oil which forms 80 percent of the total input in lubricant production was cheap, however, the imported additives which gave the products the desired effect, was very expensive. Though new prices of engine oils were yet to be effected three months after the government had deregulated their prices, the Total boss asserted that the consumers would still benefit more from this. This, he claimed, would come through production of high quality lubricants that would ensure a longer life span of every machinery.

Sierra Leone

ECOWAS Force To Leave for Liberia 21 August

AB2108094590 Paris AFP in English 0937 GMT
21 August 90

[Excerpts] Freetown, Aug 21 (AFP)—The main bulk of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peace-keeping force will leave for Liberia late Tuesday [21 Aug] by sea, diplomatic sources in Freetown said. They said the Guinean contingent left here on Monday night by road. At the main harbour in Freetown, an AFP correspondent on Tuesday morning saw 20 tanks, 30 armoured cars and huge fleet of military vehicles assembled near a Nigerian vessel, NNS Ambe with as many as 600 Nigerian soldiers on board. A similar operation was underway at the south end of the harbour where the Ghanaian ship, M.V. Tano River was berthed.

The camps at Jui, some 20 miles (30 kilometres) from Freetown occupied by the Ghanaian and Gambian contingents, were now empty. Two soldiers told this correspondent, "We are leaving today for Monrovia."

African diplomats here linked the decision to move the peace-keeping troops into Liberia to rebel leader Charles Taylor's failure to attend scheduled talks on Monday with President Dawda Jawara in Banjul, the current leader of ECOWAS. [passage omitted]

An ECOWAS source in Banjul, who asked not to be named, told AFP late Monday that ECOWAS was intervening in Liberia because it was "no longer possible to accept the situation of civilian populations being killed or put up in refugee camps," adding that food and medical supplies had run out in Liberia and hospitals were no longer functioning.

Commander Addresses Ghanaian ECOWAS Troops

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1800 GMT 20 Aug 90*

[Text] The officers and men serving in the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace-keeping and monitoring force have held their first non-denominational church service at their headquarters in Freetown. Here is a report on the service from our reporter with the troops, Cyril Akolatse:

[Begin recording] [Akolatse] As a way of preparing the troops morally and spiritually for Liberia, a special interdenominational church service was held at the camp in Hastings, about 11 miles outside Freetown. It was attended by all the officers and men forming the about 1,000-strong Ghanaian contingent. Addressing the troops, the commander, Lieutenant Colonel George Ayiku, once more reminded them of the uneasy nature of the job in Liberia.

[Ayiku] There are going to be professional challenges. There are going to be provocations, there are going to be difficulties. I have to say these things before we leave here so that you will tune up on that frequency. You will be harrassed. People will fire at you—yes, they will fire at you. But I know one thing—that with our discipline, with our professional excellence in peace-keeping and your cooperation, I think we should be able to weather the storm.

On arrival in Monrovia or Liberia, I want you to display a high sense of maturity. Is that clear? [Voices heard shouting: "Yes, Sir!"] Don't act or don't work on impulse. Act on the advice or the instructions of the officers and then senior NCOs. Is that clear? [Voices: "Yes, sir!"] I don't want any one-man operation. It this clear? [Voices: "Yes, sir!"] As I said, there are going to be trying moments ahead of us; but with a little bit of goodwill from the Liberians themselves and the cooperation from all of you, I know that the mission being given to me.... [changes thought] We can accomplish the mission at all costs because we dare not fail.

[Akolatse] Colonel Ayiku also spoke about having been overwhelmed by the standard of discipline and cooperation so far displayed by his officers and men. A medical officer attached to the troops, Captain Ametefe, also advised them to take particular care and preventive measures at all times and avoid catching the dreadful disease AIDS.

Preaching the sermon at the service earlier, the forces' chaplain, Lieutenant Quakyi Benny, described the troops as chosen instruments of peace being sent to Liberia to put an end to the works of Satan. Lieutenant Abdul Dissu, who offered prayers for the Muslims, reminded the troops that they are going to Liberia as ambassadors and, therefore, must on no account indulge in looting or taking advantage of the depressed women in Liberia. [end recording]

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